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Part I.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

ON

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIZATION IN MALAYA

BY

H. G. QUARITCH WALES, M.A., Ph.D.
(Field Director, Greater-India Research Committee)

THE GREATER-INDIA RESEARCH COMMITTEE

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PREFACE.

In 1936, shortly after returning from our expedition to S'ri Deva, I suggested to the Committee the desirability of our turning our attention to the archaeological exploration of Malaya. It seemed to me that the almost complete absence of exact information from this geographically important region was doing much to handicap progress in the elucidation of the history of South Eastern Asia and of the processes which brought about ancient Indian cultural expansion, the latter being one of the most important civilizing movements in the history of mankind.

In view of the fact that the north-west coast of Malaya, in addition to occupying an important position on the maritime trade route to China, must have had much contact with early Indian colonists, it was decided to concentrate on that part of the country. Accordingly the Governments of the States of Kedah and Perak were approached with the result that they agreed to provide the funds required for the work. Subsequently a grant was received from the Johore Government to enable us to carry out a similar exploration in that State also. Orientalists will appreciate the action of the Governments of these States in thus recognizing the importance of taking steps to rescue from oblivion the cultural and historical heritage of Malaya. Moreover they will be glad to know that the objects found in the excavations, including those temporarily removed to Europe for study, will be permanently safeguarded in one or other of the Malayan museums.

We are indebted to the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for kindly extending to us the hospitality of their *Journal*. In publishing the results I have borne in mind that new facts are the primary desiderata of history and archaeology in South Eastern Asia. In Part I therefore I have endeavoured to present as plainly as possible the body of new facts made available by our field researches. Part II (Historical Conclusions) is comparatively slender since I have restricted it to some of the broader deductions which I think can be drawn from these facts and have resisted the temptation of being drawn into prolonged theoretical discussions.

Altogether we spent a total of fourteen months in Malaya and, as on former occasions, my wife shared with me all branches of work in the field often under somewhat onerous conditions. On our return to Europe she has rendered great assistance in preparing the results, and has particularly made herself responsible for the treatment and restoration (where possible) of objects found in the excavations, and the preparation and execution of the architectural plans.

We both wish to take this opportunity of placing on record our satisfaction with the services of our assistant, Mohd. Noor bin Haji Aroff, a young educated Malay, who not only became an efficient excavator and overseer, but gave us invaluable help in

field exploration and the tactful carrying out of local enquiries which led to the discovery of many ancient sites.

Our thanks are due to the Government officials who facilitated our work in Malaya and also to the directorate and local management of the Sungai Batu Estate, Kedah, who accorded us facilities for work on their land ; also to the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, for placing freely at our disposal the skill of their staff and the resources of their laboratories for the making of chemical analyses, the identification of gemstones, etc. ; to Mr. J. Allan, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, Professor E. H. Johnston of Oxford, Professor J. Ph. Vogel of Leiden, and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, for their valuable help in the interpretation of inscriptions ; to Dr. W. Percival Yetts, Professor of Chinese Art and Archaeology in the University of London, for his report on the Chinese mirror found in Kedah ; and to Mr. A. D. Brankston of the British Museum and Messrs. Bluett Bros. for kindly examining and expressing their opinions on the dating of many fragments of Ming porcelain.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

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St. James's Street,
London, S.W.1.

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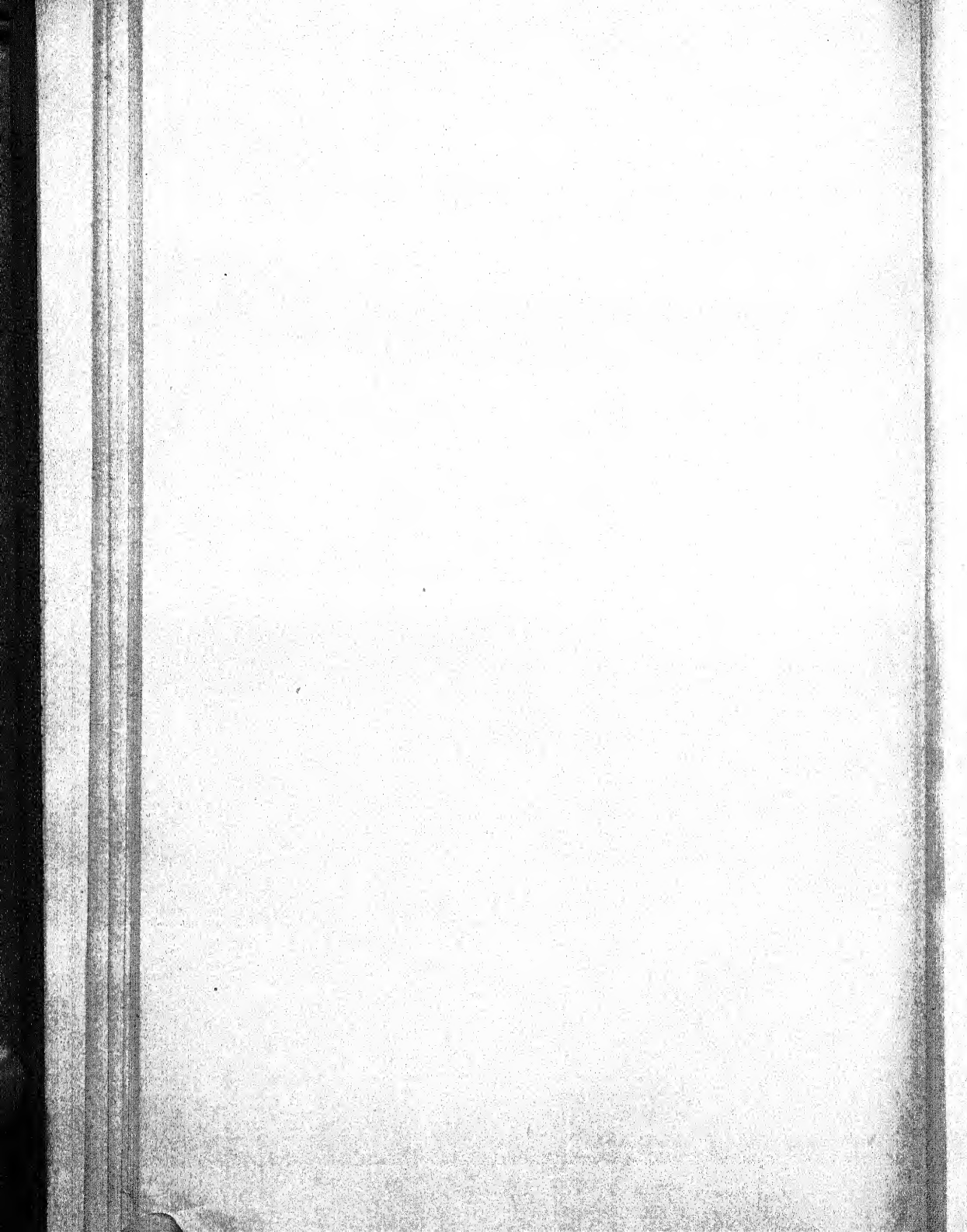
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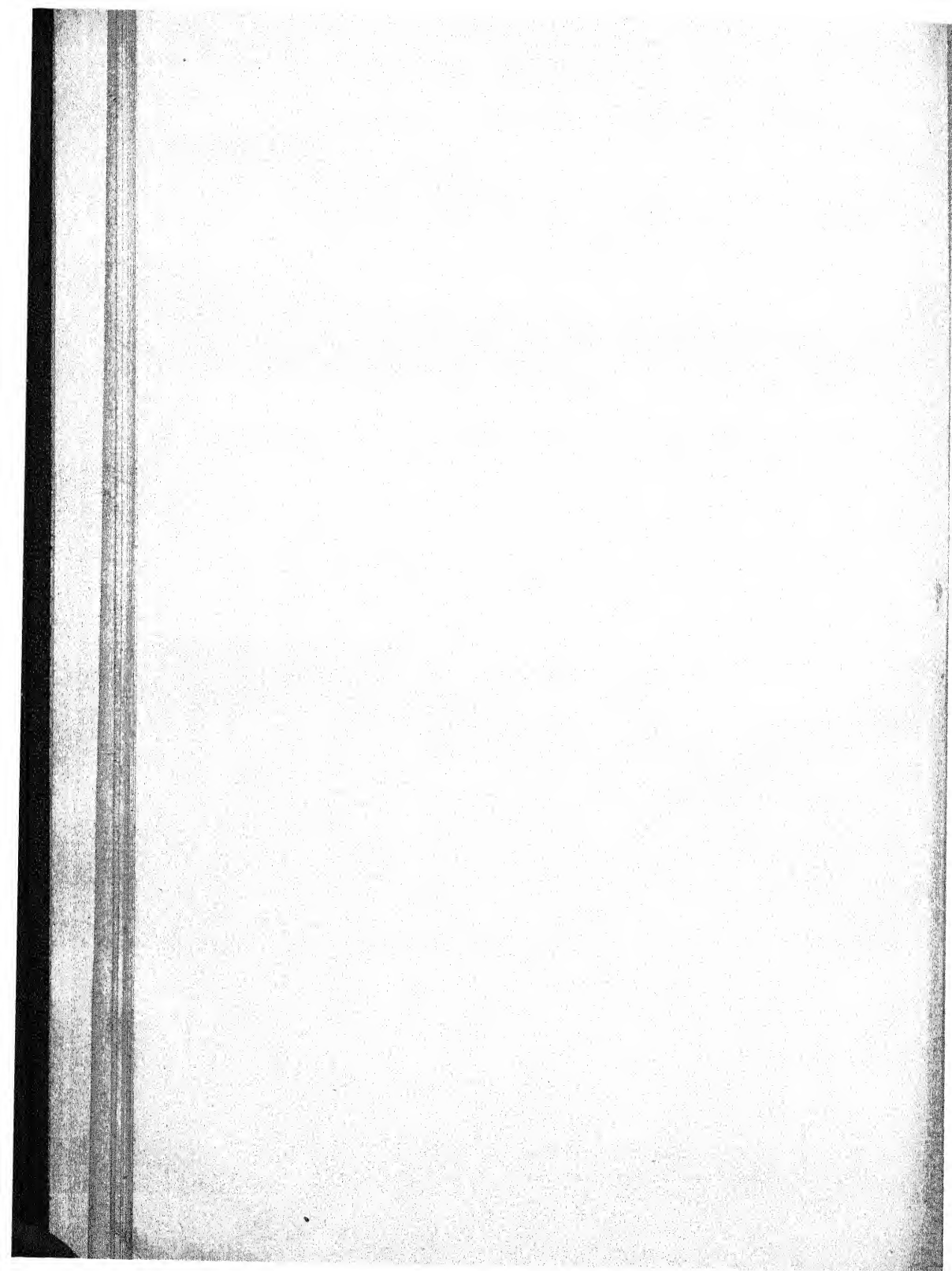
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PART I.

EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION.



KEDAH : GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS.

A necessary prelude to an archaeological exploration in any given region is a study of the local geographical conditions. Generally speaking Malaya owed her importance to her geographical position : Firstly she bordered the Straits of Malacca, the main sea trade route between the West and China, and offered suitable sites for the establishment of emporia and ports where merchandise could be transhipped. Secondly her north-west coast provided the first sight of land and possibility of rest and refreshment to would-be Indian colonists after their crossing of the Bay of Bengal. Kedah combined the practical advantage of an excellent anchorage (the estuary of the Merbok) with the spiritual attraction of being dominated by a high mountain (Kedah Peak), which to the superstitious Indian sailors must have appeared to be a veritable home of the gods (Pl. 1 and 2). From Kedah there was of course always easy access to the Ligor region of the east coast, by the route now followed by the railway ; but this route, as a means of avoiding the sea journey round the Peninsula, could never have competed with the much shorter route from Takuapa, further to the north, across to the Bay of Bandon. It is rather then as affording a good harbour at the northwest entrance to the Straits that Kedah drew its importance. From the point of view of the colonists, however, another consideration was equally important. Even though for the establishment of a small state a vast fertile area was not necessary, there had to be sufficient suitable flat land on which to grow grain to support the settlers. This was particularly necessary to the earlier colonists who could not afford to import grain, and were unable to control the piracy that threatened to strangle trade through the Straits ; it only lost importance when, with the growth of the Arab demand for tin, probably about the VIIIth century A.D., cities on the Peninsula became rich and strong enough, as a result of their trade, to suppress the piracy and thus import all the food they wanted. But in the early days of colonization, the existence or otherwise of tin was evidently not a primary consideration. There was little of it, in any case, to be found in Kedah, around the base of Kedah Peak, and there is no evidence that it was worked before modern times. In Perak and possibly Selangor, where tin abounded, the Indian settlements were also established in the river valleys, but the fact that there is no reason to suppose that they rivalled Kedah in importance suggests that it was her conveniently situated anchorage and the awe-inspiring presence of the Peak that gave her the early advantage.

Though there was sufficient flat land to make settlement possible, it must not be supposed that in the early centuries of our era there was as much land available in Kedah and Province Wellesley for padi culture as there is now. Much of it is indeed of quite modern formation, especially that which lies north of Kedah Peak and has been vastly increased within living memory.

The importance of the so-called Kedah River, on which the modern capital Alor Star is situated, is of only very recent origin. It is formed only by the confluence in new lowland of several small streams which in the early days of Indian colonization emptied themselves separately into the sea and offered neither safe anchorage nor suitable agricultural land on their banks. Isolated spots of high ground seem to have been taken advantage of for the founding of small villages or perhaps merely hermitages. Such places were Bukit Choras, near the then mouth of the Sala River, ten miles south of Alor Star; the foot of Bukit Mertajam near the then mouth of the Sungai Prai; and the neighbourhood of Bukit Meriam which probably stood as one of several islands south of the stretch of water we now term Kuala Merbok. But the main district of early settlement must from the first have been the gently rising ground around the southern border of the Kedah Peak massif. Neither low swampy ground nor mountainous jungle appealed to the Indians, but the talus of Kedah Peak, with its clear streams providing a good water supply, was ideal.

The probability is that Kedah Peak was a peninsula when the Indian colonists arrived. Though the swamps bordering the Merbok had not yet formed, and much of the low lying land north and south of the Peak was still under the sea, it is difficult to believe that the comparatively high neck of land between Bedong and Gurun was beneath the sea in historical times. In the *Kedah Annals*,¹ the captain of the ship on which the legendary founder of Langkasuka, Marong Mahawangsa, arrives, is represented as saying to the adventurer "the large island we have reached (Kedah Peak) is now *becoming* attached to the main land". Legend referring to the earliest time of which the Kedah people claim to have memory, therefore, refers to the process as already begun. Moreover it is well known that many ancient geographers did not clearly distinguish between peninsulas and islands. We may therefore suppose that, at the period to which the *Kedah Annals* refer, Kedah Peak was not an island but *almost an island*. When was this?

Mr. H. D. Collings adduced interesting evidence on this point in connection with his examination of cave deposits in Perlis². He found that at caves in Bukit Chuping, which is now eleven miles from the sea, certain primitive people had existed on a diet of marine molluscs, the shells of which were found in the caves. He concluded that, as the distance from the sea was far too great for the molluscs to have been carried to the caves in an edible condition, at the period when the caves were inhabited they must have been much nearer to the sea. This conclusion is supported by local Perlis legend. In endeavouring to arrive at a date when the sea would have been sufficiently near the caves to allow

¹*Kedah Annals*, Translated from the Malay by Lt.-Col. James Low, Reprinted Bangkok, 1908. p. 11.

²Bull. Raff. Mus. Series B. Vol. I, No. 2 Dec. 1937, pp. 112, 113.

the molluscs to be transported to them in an edible state, Mr. Collings summons to his aid the evidence of the *Kedah Annals*. He accepts Colonel Low's supposition that it was in 1284 A.D. that the Indian colonist Marong Mahawangsa arrived in Kedah, just as Kedah Peak was "becoming attached to the main land". This leads him into the difficulty of supposing that the caves were inhabited as late as the XIIIth century, which he considers far too recent. He is compelled to conclude that the sea at one time retreated, at another time advanced, with an aggregate of a general retreat, in order to fill in the time to the *early centuries of the Christian era* which he thinks a more likely time for the cave dwellers to have occupied Bukit Chuping.

When Low wrote his notes on the *Kedah Annals* practically nothing was known about Indian cultural expansion. It is now of course well known that the tide of Indian colonization had ceased to flow several centuries before the date suggested by Low. Moreover temples dating from the XIIth or XIIIth century and excavated by us, were built on land which certainly did not exist when Kedah Peak was *almost an island*. The legend of Marong Mahawangsa most probably refers vaguely to the coming of either the Hindu Pallava colonists about the end of the VIth century or possibly the later Mahāyānist colonists of the VIIIth century, which removes the difficulty arising from Mr. Collings' acceptance of Colonel Low's proposed date.

When the colonists entered the wide anchorage, the shrunken remnant of which is now represented by the estuary of the Merbok, the mouths of two small streams confronted them as they sailed along the southern shore of the Kedah Peak peninsula (Fig 2). The first is known to-day as the Sungai Merbok Kichil, the second as the Bujang, a word which may be derived from the Sanskrit *Bhujangā*, meaning a serpent. For some reason or other they chose to form their settlement on the banks of the Bujang. Possibly the Merbok Kichil was too exposed to attack from the sea, or there was insufficient high ground on its banks. There is, however, a pretty waterfall near its source and this was evidently regarded as a specially sacred place by the Hindu Pallavas who built a particularly well constructed temple near by (Site 8).

There was adequate gently rising ground (now under rubber) along the banks of the Bujang for the building of houses and temples, and beyond that, especially towards the mouth, was the low land suitable for padi cultivation and still used for that purpose. Site 2 (Fig. 3) probably stands not very far from the sixth century mouth of the Bujang. Above it the settlements dating from that time down to about the ninth or tenth century stretched for a couple of miles very nearly to the source of the river. Below it there are two-thirds of a mile of padi land closely bordering the banks of the river and then an island of higher ground on which cluster the remains of temples of the XIth-XIIth

centuries. Then follow more padi fields and a belt of mangrove swamps of comparatively recent accretion.

The Bujang runs swiftly in its upper reaches, (Pl. 3) and deposits masses of rounded river boulders as far down as Site 6. These boulders are much used for the coarser building purposes, mostly in the temples along this part of the river. In its upper reaches the Bujang has very frequently changed its course, as a result of which parts of temples or their enclosures and no doubt in some cases whole temples have been washed away, especially in the long stretch between Sites 4 and 12. However one would not expect very much destruction to be wrought to the city as a whole by such a small stream as the Sungai Bujang, the volume of water brought down by this and other streams rising on the slopes of Kedah Peak being very limited. Moreover this district of Kedah is protected from the waters draining from the main range by the Sungai Muda which flows from north to south through the state until it turns seaward parallel to and to the south of the Merbok estuary.

It is well-known that about a hundred years ago Colonel James Low carried out sporadic archaeological explorations in Kedah and Province Wellesley during the period when he was Resident at Penang. Unfortunately, except for some notes in his translations of the *Kedah Annals* and others in connection with the inscriptions he found which were edited by Laidlay (*Essays relating to Indochina*, Vol. I pp. 218-234), he never published any account of his excavations although he evidently had the intention of doing so. We shall see in the following pages that some of the outlying sites of various periods can be identified as among those excavated by Low, by the methods of his time. It is uncertain, however, whether he ever explored the remains on the Sungai Bujang though the following passage seems to suggest that he located some of them, as it is difficult to see to what other district the following words could apply: "In all my numerous excursions in the jungles here I have discovered undoubted relics of a Hindoo colony, with ruins of temples. This tract extends along the talus of the Kedda mountain Jerrai. . . . My researches have been unavoidably slow from the almost impenetrable state of the forests"¹. It is probable therefore that Low knew at least some of the sites on the Bujang and made many finds in this district that are lost to science, but since he evidently only dug at random in the centres of mounds, which resulted no doubt in bringing to light some sculptures, his methods could not have led to the acquirement of much architectural knowledge. That the search even for images must have disappointed him is evident from the fact that he tells us² of "the mutilated images I have discovered". The fact is, as the *Annals* make clear in several passages, the Malays after their conversion to Islam most zealously

¹*Kedah Annals*, p. 183.

²*Op. Cit.* p. 184.

carried out the destruction of all the "heathen idols" that they could lay their hands on. Owing to the slowness of deposition along the upper banks of the Bujang, four hundred years ago even the most ancient images must have been lying practically on the surface and thus they, as well as the images in those later Hindu temples that were still in use, must have attracted the attention of the newly converted Moslems.¹ Only thus can we account for the rarity of sculptural remains in Kedah as compared with the neighbouring district of South Siam, a rarity which was evidently almost equally apparent in Low's day. When added to this we consider the damage inevitably resulting from the economic development of the country in recent decades we can only be thankful that so much still lay awaiting investigation.

A few words must be said about the Sungai Muda, the lower reaches of which mark the border between Kedah and Province Wellesley. Though to-day this stream is by no means unimpressive, it is easy to see that it would never have attracted Indian colonists. Its mouth is difficult to distinguish from the sea and it offered no good anchorage, while its winding course makes navigation laborious. Indeed in earlier centuries it must have seemed to wind interminably through swamps which, however attractive they may have been to the primitive people who made the Guak Kepah shell-heaps, would have been intolerable to the Indians. In later times, however, as the land became suitable for padi cultivation, the Malays formed considerable settlements on its banks.

KEDAH : SITE 1 (BUKIT CHORAS).

This is the only known ancient site in Kedah located north of the Peak and it occupies a very isolated position. The Sungai Sala is a small stream crossed by the main road about 11½ miles south of Alor Star, the capital of Kedah. About half a mile upstream from the point where the road crosses the stream, on its left bank, there is a small crescent-shaped jungle-clad ridge, at most 150 feet high and less than half a mile long, known as Bukit Choras, running approximately in a north-south direction (Pl. 4). In the *Kedah Annals*² it is stated that the Siamese Kalahom, when on a military expedition to Kedah, here "entrenched himself with a mud wall and a ditch". The *Annals* seem to suggest that it was as a result of this event that the stream received the name of Sala, a word which though Pali in origin is certainly Siamese, in which language it has the meaning of a temporary rest house, such as the *Annals*³ indicate was erected within the fortifications. Colonel Low visited the site, but evidently missed the earthworks for he does not mention them. No doubt this was because he came up

¹Op. Cit. p. 172 where it is stated that they destroyed "all the idols which they were wont to worship, and the idols which had been handed down by the old men of former days."

²*Kedah Annals*, p. 153.

³Op. Cit. p. 154.

the river, approaching the ridge from the west or seaward side.¹ In fact the earth mound with external moat is on the eastern side of Bukit Choras and runs for about a third of a mile from one end of the natural crescent to the other. The mound is pierced by two or three gaps, apparently gateways. The area of flat or rising ground between the crescent and the mound, though well protected from sea and land attack, seems too small to have served as anything but a temporary encampment, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement in the *Annals* attributing the fortifications to the Siamese.

On the summit of the hill—actually towards the southern end of the ridge—Low found "the remains of what appeared to have been temples," and it is these remains that are of greater interest to us than the earthworks below. As a general rule, sites situated on hill tops are seldom productive. Their exposed position means firstly that small objects are more usually washed away down the hillside than covered by deposit, and secondly, that they are well-known locally and have received the attentions of treasure seekers. In this case the site was well-known to the local Malays who showed us a considerable mound with a deep pit in the centre. After the jungle had been cleared, except for a huge tree that stood on one side of the mound, it became evident that the centre of the mound had been very energetically dug into either by Colonel Low or by treasure seekers. However, as the outer part of the mound had not been touched, it seemed that proper excavation might at least provide an indication as to the style of the building. This proved to be the case. A regularly oriented laterite basement (Pl. 5) was revealed measuring 22' 6" x 23' 6" and standing about 3' high above the slaty bedrock of the hill on which it had been built. A laterite stairway led up to the top of the basement in the centre of its south side. The structure was massively built of courses of laterite blocks, unlike any other building known to me in Malaya. On the other hand its construction recalled the VIth or VIIth century A.D. platform at P'ong Tük, Siam² but that of course was a much larger building and closer comparison of the mouldings of each showed the greater simplicity of the Kedah basement, a fact which in itself would seem to point to greater antiquity.

Probably a *stupa* had stood on the basement but if so all trace of it had completely disappeared. More or less complete disappearance of *stupas* from their basements, even with the assistance of treasure seekers' activities, seems at first sight unlikely, yet it is an undoubted fact and, apart from Kedah, the P'ong Tük sites above referred to furnish two examples both of complete³ and partial⁴ disappearance of *stupas* from their plinths.

¹Op. Cit. p. 57.

²J.S.S. Vol. XXI, 1928. pl. 12 and 13.

³Loc. Cit. Pl. 3 *infra*.

⁴*Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. X. No. 1, 1936, Pl. 1.

A few feet to the south of the stairs leading up to the basement was a low laterite platform about 15 feet square, into the centre of which treasure seekers had also dug a deep pit. The finds associated with this platform, enumerated below, suggest that it was the base of a wooden building, either a small Buddhist *vihara* or a monk's residence.

Even at the time when the Siamese Kalahom built his fort at the foot of the hill it would appear that Bukit Choras must have been very near the coast. In the early centuries of the Christian era the hill must have been either at the mouth of the river or have formed an actual island.

Finds.

The following were all found in the process of clearing the small southern platform.

Ceramics :—Only a fragment of very old-looking rough undecorated pottery was found.

Iron Objects :—Four nails of ancient type were found on or beside the platform.

Inscribed Stone :—This important object (Pl. 6) was found in the roots of a tree on the edge of the platform. The inscription was lightly engraved on a small rectangular bar of the slaty bedrock of the hill, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in length with the broader faces $\frac{9}{16}$ " across and the narrower $\frac{3}{8}$ ". One broad and both narrow faces had been ground smooth and engraved with four lines in all, of South Indian script, apparently the Buddhist *credo*.

After examining the stone itself, Mr. J. Allan, keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, confirmed that the inscription reads :—

*Ye dharmmā hetu (prabhavā hetum teṣāṃ)
Tathāgato | hyavadat teṣāṃ ca yo |
Nirodho evaṃ vādī | Mahāśramanāḥ*

The words between brackets are omitted from this inscription, evidently in error. Mr. Allan dates the inscription IVth century, A.D., saying that the form of *c*, *g* and *m* cannot be later than the second half of the IVth century. It is probably contemporary to Low's Bukit Meriam inscription which included the *Ye dharmmā* formula¹.

Dating.

In view of the style of the basement with its simple mouldings, one feels no doubt whatever that it is at least as old as the inscription *i.e.* IVth century A.D. It is therefore the earliest structure now known in Malaya, and it would be difficult to point to any older building elsewhere in South Eastern Asia.

¹Chhabra, *J.A.S.B. Letters* Vol. I, 1935, No. 1, pp. 14, 20.

KEDAH : SITE 2.

This was situated in a Malay kampong about forty yards from the right bank of the Sungai Bujang at a point which cannot have been very far from the mouth of that stream in the early centuries of our era. The Malay owner of the small holding brought the information that there had previously been a mound on his land but he had levelled it down when he had built a house near by. He had used a number of flat pieces of reddish slate, that he had found in the process, for paving the ground beneath his house.

Our excavation of the site revealed a square basement, slightly irregularly oriented, measuring about 12' 6" square and 2' 6" deep (Pl. 7). The laterite of which the basement was built was so decomposed as a result of its damp situation that, unlike the basement of Site 1, it was not possible to distinguish mouldings if there had ever been any. But though the basement was so much smaller than that of Site 1 I feel almost certain that it was the base of a small *stupa*, what remained of the *stupa* itself having been demolished by the owner of the land. Moreover the nature of the finds seems to confirm that it was a *stupa*. I examined the flat stones under the Malay's house and found that none of them was inscribed. Possibly they had paved a circum-ambulatory path around the *stupa*.

Finds.

Inscribed Tablet :—When clearing one side of the basement an object of great importance was found, which had probably been embedded in the *stupa* before the latter was demolished. It was a rectangular bar or tablet of what appeared to be hard sun-dried clay measuring $5\frac{1}{8}" \times 1\frac{1}{8}" \times 1\frac{1}{8}"$ slightly tapered from these measurements at each end (Pl. 8). Each of three faces bore two lines of a Sanskrit inscription, well preserved except for slight damage to the first line. For the study of photographs of this inscription I am indebted to the kind co-operation of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel and Mr. J. Allan who both further submitted it to the consideration of Prof. E. H. Johnston who was good enough to express his views on the interpretation. On the suggestion of Prof. Vogel I also sent photographs to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who also made valuable suggestions.

The following is the transcript and translation forwarded to me by Mr. Allan :—

Balāni daśa catvāri vaiśaradyāni yāni ca
Aṣṭādaśa ca Buddhānām dharmmā āvenikā hi ye
Ye pratītyasamutpannā na te kecit svabhāvatah
Ye 'svabhāvān na vidyante tesām sambhavaḥ kvacit
Jānīte ya imām koṭīm akoṭīm jagatas samam
Tasya koṭīm gatam jñānam sarvvaḍharmesu varttate

Translation.

" There are ten *balas* (powers), four *vaiśrādyas* (assurances, extraordinary skills) and eighteen *dharma āveṇīkas* (independent qualities) of the Buddhas. The *dharma*s (moments of consciousness) which arise from co-operating circumstances have in no case real existence ; there can be nowhere any (*dharma*s) which do not exist in a state of unreality. Who knows this summit of the universe to be at the same time no summit—his knowledge, having reached the summit, extends over all *dharma*s "

The inscription thus consists of three stanzas (*ślokas*) each of 4 x 8 syllables, the subject matter being concerned with the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The script is Pallava *grantha* and all the scholars who have studied it are agreed to a dating of fifth or sixth century. Dr. Chakravarti considers it to be of early sixth century. It is in any case much earlier than the dated seventh century Sumatran inscriptions which were previously considered to be the earliest inscriptions in South East Asia including clearly Mahāyānist references. Dr. Chakravarti calls my attention to the fact that in India, particularly at Nālandā, several bricks inscribed with the *Pratītyasamutpādasūtra* have been found deposited in small *stupas*, to which the structure in which the present inscription was found is perhaps comparable.

The source of the inscription for some time eluded scholars as it does not seem to be any known Sanskrit text, but eventually it was traced in Chinese translation by a young Chinese scholar Mr. Lin Li-Kouang to whom is due the credit for making the discovery. He informed Professor Johnston who, after checking Mr. Lin Li-Kouang's references and drawing certain inferences, writes as follows:—

" A young Chinese correspondent of mine in Paris, Lin Li-Kouang by name, has found a number of references in the Chinese translations which dispose satisfactorily of this inscription. The last two verses, which have no necessary connection with the first one, occur in a number of texts, all apparently of the Mādhyamika school, probably with slight variations. All three are found together in one text only, the *Sāgaramatipariṣcchā*, with the first verse after the other two with some verses in between. This *sūtra* is known to me from quotations in the *Sikṣasāmmuccaya* and in the commentary to the *Ratnagotravibhaga Mahāyānot-taratantraśāstra* (which is often, but wrongly, attributed to Asaṅga, it really being a late Mādhyamika work), which I am in process of editing from photos of the Sanskrit MSS. in Tibet.

" These references explain the readings. In the second verse, second line, I do not see from the Sanskrit point of view how one can avoid reading *svabhāvān na vidyante* ; probably the verses were originally written in the so-called ' mixed ' dialect, and the ablative would have appeared in the form *svabhāvā*, which was misunderstood when the verses were turned into a pure Sanskrit.

"The third verse is explained in a commentary (wrongly) attributed to Vasubandhu, whose title seems to be the *Viśeṣacin-tābrahmapariṣcchāśāstra*, Taisho Issaikyo edition No. 1532. There *koṭi* is taken to mean 'separation from the desires', i.e. Nirvāṇa. *Akoṭim* is accordingly the right reading and means 'saṃsāra'. The verse therefore formulates the well-known doctrine of the equivalence of Nirvāṇa and saṃsāra. The usage is curious, and I should never have dared venture this explanation but for the commentary.

"I have not yet been able to get hold of the Tibetan translation of the *Sāgaramatipariṣcchā*; the reference in the Chinese to the verses is, Taisho Issaikyo edition No. 400, p. 494a, columns 16-19 and 24-25."

Gold Object:—A square of rather thick gold leaf with an area of approximately $15/16" \times \frac{3}{4}"$, which is rather smaller than the area of the ends of the inscribed tablet, was found lying close to the latter object. It was devoid of marks except for a faint symmetrical cross suggesting that it had at one time been folded along these lines. Probably this square of gold had been embedded in the *stupa* with the inscribed tablet.

Iron Object:—A very corroded hollow iron cone with a solid tapering extremity, of a total length of ten inches, was found near the edge of the basement (Pl. 9). Though the soil had been very much disturbed here by the recent actions of the owner of the land, it seems probable that this object is contemporary to the *stupa*. It may have been the finial either of the *stupa* itself or of an inner reliquary.

Dating.

It seems evident that the structure is contemporary to the inscription and hence dates from not later than early VIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 3.

About fifteen feet south of Site 11 laterite blocks were visible in the side of the estate drain and excavation revealed the presence of a regularly oriented platform measuring about nine feet square and consisting of three courses of well-laid laterite blocks. The base of the laterite being at a considerably greater depth, 3' 6" from the present ground level, than the habitation level of Site 11, it seems likely that Site 3 dates from an earlier period and is contemporary to the deeper potsherds found below Site 11. The laterite platform shows no relationship to the S'aiva temples, but rather suggests that it may be the basement of a small *stupa* or other structure of the early Buddhist period (circa Vth—VIth century A.D.) and that the bronze object, found in connection with Site 11 may in fact have originated from Site 3. But one cannot speak with certainty on this latter point.

KEDAH : SITE 4.

This temple, like the other S'aiva temples of the period had been built on the right bank of the Bujang, so that the *vimāna* (main sanctuary) would face the east as was the rule for South Indian *līnga* shrines.

The mound indicating the position of the *vimāna* of this temple had long been known to the management of Sungai Batu Estate. It had been partially destroyed with the object of obtaining laterite for road metal, before it was brought to the notice of Mr. I. H. N. Evans, formerly Ethnographer of the Perak Museum. In 1925 he carried out very tentative excavations here, publishing his results in his *Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, (Cambridge 1927) pp. 116, 117, Pls. XXIV—XXVI. The following description of the remains is based entirely on the more complete excavation we were able to carry out.

The *vimāna* stood slightly to the south of the middle line of the regularly oriented enclosure (Fig. 4). What were really only the lower courses of the enclosure wall were made of moderate sized river boulders obtained direct from the river bed and bound together with earth. This wall measured about 3' to 4' in width, and 2' to 3' in height so that its presence was just noticeable from the surface. Above this low wall there must have been a wall of mud or a wooden palisade pierced by gates, one no doubt in the middle of the eastern wall another probably in the middle of the south wall. The eastern wall ran parallel to the bank of an old bed of the river a few yards from it. A curious point was that towards the north end of the enclosure the east and west walls dipped sharply to form a syncline as a result of local earth movement.

The ruined *vimāna* (Pl. 10-14) stood on a solid river-boulder foundation of two courses with a total depth of about 5', a shaft sunk through which did not result in the finding of any foundation deposits. The laterite courses at the north-east edge of the main foundation showed the effects of subsidence owing to local earth movement. From the middle of the eastern face of the boulder foundation there projected a smaller and shallower extension of it to the east, while this in turn had a further small extension ending abruptly a few yards from the eastern enclosure wall. Owing presumably to the slope of the land towards the river, the eastward extension of the boulder foundation would have been exposed and so both it and the eastward edges of the *vimāna* foundation were faced with courses of laterite blocks forming a moulded edge.

Only part of the plinth and of the lower courses of the walls of the *vimāna* remained standing, these being built of massive laterite blocks. A curious point of construction was that a few bricks (Class 1.)¹ were laid at each corner beneath the plinth

¹For explanation of classification of bricks from Kedah sites see p. 45.

on the stone foundation. The walls of the *vimāna* were best preserved on the south and west sides and here traces of plain pilasters were preserved. The entrance had been in the centre of the eastern side, as was the custom with South Indian S'iva temples, where the well dressed granite blocks of the door-sill, with mortices for the door frame, remained *in situ*. From the position in which Mr. Evans had found the *snāna-dronī* (*yoni*), on the door sill, upside down with its spout directed to the south, it is evident that the sanctuary had been pillaged, probably long ago. In all Indian temples (and as we found at Site 5 where it was undisturbed) the spout should point to the right of anyone entering the shrine. Therefore in this case the *somasūtra* (drain for carrying off lustration water) would have passed through the northern wall which, with the *somasūtra*, had been completely destroyed. A small brick paved platform was annexed to the centre of the northern edge of the stone foundation of the *vimāna* on the north side. Perhaps a jar had stood on it to receive the water drained from the *somasūtra*.

Despite the massive construction of the basement and lower courses of the *vimāna* it seems not improbable that the superstructure was of perishable materials. We shall see that the *vimāna* at Site 5, which lacks a stone basement and is not known to have been despoiled for road material, supports this view since the remains are so very scanty in comparison with the vast pile of material that usually marks the site of even quite a small ruined brick or stone structure.¹

The Pallava temples of South India were chiefly of timber construction². They have thus disappeared or at least, if their remains exist in a similar state to the Kedah contemporaries, they have not been revealed owing to insufficient archaeological exploration in South India. Their style however, is known from the famous *rathas* at Mahābālipuram, the Pallava seaport south of Madras. Since the plinths and lower courses of both the *rathas* and the Kedah temples under discussion are so plain as to afford almost no data for comparison in regard to style, the conclusion that the Kedah temples are in fact the work of Pallava colonists rests on supplementary evidence supplied by the associated finds, especially the miniature roof to be described below.

It is probable that on the eastward extension of the foundation there stood a wooden *mandapam* supported on timber pillars. Only one stone base for a pillar, with square mortice, was found anywhere in the enclosure, between the end of the foundation and the eastern enclosure wall, but no negative deduction may be made from this because the pillar bases are much in demand for use in connection with the posts of modern houses in the kampongs, etc.,

¹The recent excavation of the Gunung Wukir temple, Central Java, dating from about 732 A.D., has shown that the earliest Indo-Javanese temples also were built partly of perishable materials (*Ann. Bibl. Ind. Arch.* XII, p. 52).

²A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture* I, p. 10.

and in cases where they were visible from the surface have always been removed for this purpose. No tiles were found here or at any of the other S'iva temples of this period.

It is the general rule in South Indian temples that on either side of the *vimāna*, within the enclosure, there stand the shrines of subsidiary deities, in this case such S'aivite deities as Durga and Gaṇeśa. Owing to the restrictions placed on unlimited excavation of the somewhat extensive temple enclosures on the Sungai Batu Estate, with the object of minimising damage to the rubber trees, apart from excavation of the main structure as a general rule we were obliged to confine ourselves to exploratory trenches within the enclosure. At the present site, however, we were able to excavate the greater part of the enclosure, bringing to light towards the south-west corner a plain rectangular base (Pl. 15) consisting of a few courses of boulders (4a) and, near the northern enclosure wall, that part of the walls of another shrine that had been made of boulders (4b). In both cases there must of course have been wooden superstructures.

East of Site 4 enclosure, on the low water-worn island left between the former and present beds of the river, we excavated the massive boulder foundations of the walls of what had evidently been a considerable structure measuring externally 13' 6" x 11'. The excavation illustrated well the mode of construction: A notable point is that for the corners larger boulders were used. A few bricks were found, but it was not clear where they had been used. As it seems probable that this building was a subsidiary of the main temple, though outside the enclosure and presumably on the then opposite bank of the river, it may be called 4c (Pl. 16 and 17).

Finds.

With the exception of the bronze shrine roof (found in the river), the finds were mostly found in the enclosure at approximately the contemporary occupation level, which was at a depth of about 2' to 2' 6" below the present ground level, except where the local earth movement especially at the north end of the enclosure, occurring perhaps not long after the construction of the temple, had caused a sinkage. The relative abundance of finds, particularly rough pottery, towards the south wall of the enclosure and beyond it, seems to point to the conclusion that Site 4 marked approximately the northern end of the city during this period.

Roof of Miniature Bronze Shrine (Pl. 18):—This was found shortly before we left Kedah by Tamil coolies engaged in the modern (and ancient) industry of collecting boulders from the bed of the Sungai Bujang, a short distance below Site 4. It may therefore conveniently be dealt with here, especially as it throws important light on local temple construction. Miniature bronze shrines, of much later style, may be seen in the Madras Museum

where it is stated that they were used mainly in connection with domestic ritual, so it may be that the shrine of which we recovered the roof was used not in the temple, but by a householder nearby. The shrine was evidently used as a casket, the roof acting as a hinged lid provided with a fastener. Its style is of the greatest interest as throwing light on contemporary temple architecture in Kedah on which the remains of the temples themselves supply all too scanty information. One is immediately struck by the close resemblance to the waggon-roof of the Bhima and Gaṇeśa *rathas* at Mahābālipuram (Pl. 19). Like them it has a horse-shoe shaped gable-window, at each end of the roof, the prototype of which is the older Buddhist *chaitya* window. The structure is however simpler than that represented in the *rathas*, there being an absence of dormer windows and other finer architectural detail. A notable point is that there is only one so-called "flower-pot" on the roof and its style is simpler than that of the many which adorn the roof-ridges of the *rathas*. Possibly the "flower-pot" is really intended to represent a stone lamp for use on ceremonial occasions. On the other hand, the figure of a cross-legged *rishi* seated at each corner, betokening the Śaivite cult, is a feature never found on the roofs at Mahābālipuram. The openwork roof strongly suggests that the temples on which this miniature was modelled had roofs of carved wood or other perishable material. It also immediately calls to mind, and suggests the Indian origin of, some of the modern Malay brassware such as the miniature Sumatran houses which exhibit a similar lotus design.

Bas-relief (Pl. 20):—Carved on a granite river boulder, height 1' 8½", was what appears to be a representation of Gaṇeśa despite its lack of attributes. It was found a few yards to the south of the *vimāna*, which is in accordance with the fact that in South India images of Gaṇeśa were always placed on the south side of the *līṅga* shrine¹. If it is a Gaṇeśa it is of the early two-armed from very simply and plainly carved. Though the trunk curves to the left it is not represented as about to lift cakes from a bowl. Both tusks are equally short and the hands are apparently represented as clasped above the feet. The soles of the feet are represented as touching. This attitude seems to have been considered hitherto as found exclusively in Javanese Gaṇeśas²; but the present discovery suggests that the attitude is of Indian origin.

Līṅga:—A piece of granite, probably originally a river boulder, was found near the Gaṇeśa and appears to be a rough representation of a *līṅga*. It was roughly cylindrical with a somewhat enlarged basal portion, of a total height of 16". It seems too crude to have been the *līṅga* of the main sanctuary.

Dīpa-pīṭha? (Pl. 20):—This is part of a carved granite boulder, the extant portion having a breadth of 1' 1". It was probably a *dīpa-pīṭha*, i.e. stand on which a lighted lamp was

¹Getty, *Gaṇeśa* p. 12.

²Op. Cit. p. 19.

placed in honour of the deity to which the temple was dedicated. My reason for supposing this to be the case is the presence of a projection resembling the head of a serpent, which thus reminds one of a carved "seat" found with other Hindu relics in Borneo which is identified as a *dipa-pitha* by O. C. Gangoley¹. It was found just off the edge of the *mandapam*-basement from which it had probably fallen.

Ceramics :—Fragments of red and brown undecorated coarse pottery were commonly found, especially towards the south of the enclosure. One specimen had raised horizontal ridges which suggested a type of South Indian pottery, but it was too small to be certain. One almost complete pot of coarse earthenware was found, of which the diameter of the mouth was $5\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Glass :—The following fragments of glass vessels were found :—Three fragments of fine green glass, two of the bases including pontil marks; two fragments of amber glass (bases) without pontil marks; two amber fragments of bases with pontil marks; and one fragment of pink-tinted crenulated glass base. The glass is bubbly and its specific gravity varies from 2.50 to 2.57. It is believed to be of Near Eastern manufacture brought by Arab traders. Colonel James Low mentioned that he had found glass " amongst the ruins of temples in Province Wellesley and Kedah of the following colours,—nearly black, blue, reddish, violet, green, yellow " ².

Iron Implements :—A few fragments of small knives, much corroded; an iron arrow-head (length $2\frac{3}{8}$ " Pl. 20); a quantity of iron nails with bent heads of old type, mostly found together associated with some rough pottery at the southern end of enclosure.

Bronze :—A fragment of a small bronze bell, and in Site 4c a ring and staple.

Sharpening Stone :—A small sharpening stone (length $5\frac{1}{2}$ ") shaped conveniently for holding in the hand, was found on the *mandapam* basement.

Note on Former Finds.

The fragment of the head of a granite Nandi discovered by Mr. Evans³ was found, I was told, in the north-east portion of the enclosure of this temple though no doubt the Nandi had originally faced the entrance to the *vimāna*. The relief of Durga triumphing over Mahiṣasura⁴, stated by Mr. Evans to have been found lying loose on the bank of the Sungai Bujang about 100 yards south of the Site 4 mound, may have originated from this temple or from one further south that has disappeared owing to the river's change of course.

¹J.G.I.S. Vol III, No. 1, p. 100 and Pl. VIII.

²Kedah Annals, p. 50.

³I. H. N. Evans *Ethnology* . . . p. 115 and Pl. XXIII.

⁴Op. Cit. p. 113 and Pl. XX.

Dating.

The light thrown upon the architecture by the simple style of the roof of the miniature bronze shrine, and the style of the sculptural remains, suggests VIth or VIIth century as the date of the temple.

KEDAH : SITE 5.

This site, situated not far from the south-west border of the Sungai Batu Estate, was unknown and unsuspected locally, and the low mound, with a few superficial blocks of laterite marking the site of the *vimāna*, was located in the course of exploration of the bank of the Sungai Bujang. Traces of an enclosure wall of boulders, similar to that of Site 4, were encountered at several points except on the river side where all signs of it had been destroyed by erosion. The temple was regularly oriented, opening to the east (Fig. 5). All that remained of the *vimāna* was a laterite plinth with the lower courses of the walls, the latter showing no trace of ornamental pilasters (Pl. 21, 22). The plinth rested on a foundation of boulders with a central core consisting of a rubble of laterite blocks. Excavation of this rubble did not result in the finding of any foundation deposits. Projecting from the eastern face of the plinth was a very plain laterite *mandapam* platform, without stone foundation. Down the middle line there had evidently been a narrow brick path leading to the sanctuary entrance, but only a small section remained *in situ*. Apparently this was the only use of brick made in this temple, and the brick measurements were of class 1. Unlike that of Site 4, the *mandapam* platform joined the eastern face of the *vimāna* on a level with the top of the plinth, and entry to the sanctuary was evidently obtained through a doorway opening some distance above the lower courses of the eastern wall. This arrangement was no doubt necessitated by the fact that the contemporary ground level sloped somewhat steeply from the river.

The square *snāna-droni* (Pl. 24), with slightly raised central boss, was found resting against the east wall, spout uppermost. Originally it must have stood on a wooden floor at door-sill level which would have brought its spout on a level with the *somasūtra*, one section of which was found *in situ* in the north wall (Pl. 23). An intermediate section of the *somasūtra* with the stone cover was found amongst the débris.

Four small stone socles with square mortises were found outside the *vimāna*. The presence of these, and the scanty remains of laterite blocks, suggest that the superstructure was of wood.

Finds.

Ceramics :—Three fragments of coarse brown pottery were obtained, showing two simple patterns of ornamentation. One fragment of a ware having a buff body and yellowish crackled

glaze was found on the *mandapam* platform. I have not found anything resembling it elsewhere in Kedah and, while somewhat reminiscent of Six Dynasties pottery that I found at Tākuapa, Peninsular Siam, it seems more probable that it is early T'ang (VIIth century A.D.).

Iron Implements :—A single nail of shape characteristic of the period was obtained.

Sharpening Stone :—A large sharpening stone was found outside the temple.

Dating.

General similarity to Site 4 suggests VIth or VIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 6.

By the edge of the bank of an old river channel at this point, laterite and bricks were noticed with the ends of boulder wall-foundations appearing in the bank close by. Excavation showed that the site had consisted of two enclosures connected by a common median wall (Fig. 6). The tops of these wall foundations were edged on each side by a course of laterite blocks. The enclosures were regularly oriented and the sanctuaries would have opened to the east. In fact, however, the southern sanctuary had completely disappeared with a great part of its enclosure, owing to the river having eroded the bank. In the northern enclosure there remained only the *vimāna's* stone basement with some traces of the laterite plinth on the west side. The small floor annexed to the northern side of the basement, which has been noticed in the case of Site 4, was also traceable here, in this case of brick and laterite.

Finds.

Ceramics :—A number of fragments of coarse red earthenware.

Glass :—The amber-tinted base of a glass vessel, with pontil mark, was found. It is evidently of similar type and origin to the glass fragments found at Site 4.

Bronze :—Fragments of the rim of a patinated bronze bowl of fine quality.

Dating.

Probably VIth or VIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 7.

Mr. Evans records¹ that on a hill called Bukit Gajah Mati (he refers to it as the "hill on field 30a" of Sungai Batu Estate), on which an assistant formerly had a bungalow, he had found a

¹Evans, *Ethnology* . . . p. 115.

piece of granite and some laterite blocks. He also illustrates¹ a stone with spiral markings found on the hill and another similar one found at the foot of the hill. I think he is right in describing them as probably the terminals of balustrades. Very similar ones may be seen *in situ* on the Dieng Plateau, Java. Though the evidence at our disposal is exceedingly scanty, I think it likely that a S'iva shrine similar to those already described once stood on the summit of Bukit Gajah Mati.

Dating.

Probably VIth or VIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 8.

This temple stood on a low spur of Kedah Peak overlooking the Merbok Kichil River not far from its source. The site was actually on a small rubber estate, owned by a Sumatran, but it was close to the edge of the forest. I first became interested in it when I heard that the spur was known as Bukit Batu Pahat, "Hill of Worked Stone" and was told that there were in fact ancient remains there. The spur overlooked the Merbok Kichil at a point where it formed a pretty waterfall with a pool beneath it (Pl. 25). It seemed certain that the beauty of the spot would have attracted Hindus who might well have seen in the waterfall a representation of the birth of Gaṅga from S'iva's locks. On a dry portion of the stream bed, a little distance below the pool, were signs that here had been quarried the stone required for building the temple, one block remaining as it had been left in process of extraction (Pl. 26).

The mound (Pl. 27) which indicated the remains of the temple, stood in an enclosure whose walls of unworked boulders (such as abound on the hillside) could be traced, while slightly lower down the north-east slope of the spur were signs of a terrace reinforced with unworked boulders. In general it may be said that the temple resembled the S'iva temples on the Bujang in plan (Fig. 7), differing from them mainly by greater elaboration and a more profound knowledge of construction in stone. All that remained of the *vimāna*, which opened to the south-east, was its plinth and lower courses of the wall, all constructed of carefully dressed small granite blocks (Pl. 29). These stood on a basement of rubble, paved and faced with the same type of well-dressed granite blocks forming several mouldings. In the interior of the sanctuary, at the level of the lowest course of the plinth, was a floor of laid granite blocks which had been in great part destroyed by treasure seekers. The basement on which the *vimāna* had stood was approached by a flight of stairs leading up from the *maṇḍapam* platform which projected towards the southeast and was paved with granite blocks (Pl. 28).

¹Op. Cit. Pl. XXII, figs. 3 and 4.

Several of the stone socles with square mortises, that had supported the timber pillars of the *maṇḍapam*, were found *in situ*. At each corner of the plinth of the *vimāna*, on the basement, there had stood a stone socle with square mortise intended to support a perpendicular pillar, while these corner socles were each flanked by two smaller socles with mortises so cut as to have supported each a diagonal pillar or strut. There had also been a large mortised socle on the basement, beside the centre of each face of the plinth, on which had evidently stood a pillar designed to receive the upper extremity of the two struts concerned. Most of these socles were found *in situ*. In each of the eight large socles there was in the centre of the bottom of the mortise a small square recess containing, or which had contained, the foundation deposits that will be described below.

The building had evidently fallen towards the north and consequently it was around the north corner of the basement that there was a large mass of fallen masonry. When this was cleared, among the débris were found a number of worked granite blocks having rather severe mouldings which had evidently ornamented the superstructure (Pl. 30). A large curvilinear block of stone, which had been removed by the owner of the estate to his garden, though somewhat resembling a *stiela* was perhaps the finial of the *vimāna* (Pl. 31). In any case it seems very likely that the upper structure was mainly, if not entirely, built of stone, though the use of the timber pillars and struts as supports strongly suggests that the builders were by no means quite accustomed to the use of a non-perishable medium.

The interior of the *vimāna* was choked with débris, amongst which may be mentioned here a broken *snāna-dronī* with circular recess for the image base, of a style differing from those usually associated with the *līṅga* such as we have seen in the temples on the Bujang. Outside the temple were recovered the well-dressed segments of a *somasūtra*. Of uncertain use was a square stone somewhat resembling a socle but pierced right through by a circular hole.

Finds.

Foundation Deposits :—In the recesses in the eight chief socles around the *vimāna*, as mentioned above, there had been deposited, presumably in each case, a small silver capsule (about 9/16th" diameter) containing one small polished sapphire and one small polished pyrope (Pl. 61). In two cases only, at the south and west corners respectively, were the capsules and their contents actually found *in situ*.

Ceramics :—A few coarse grey or red unornamented pots only.

Iron Implements :—A few corroded nails of old type were found.

Bronze:—Among the debris within the sanctuary, just above the *snāna-dronī*, was found the fragmentary base of an image having a beaded decoration (Pl. 33). The diameter of the base was about 7" so that it would have fitted the circular depression of the *snāna-dronī* and may thus well have been the base of the principal image in the temple. In addition, a bronze trident of Śiva, having one outer prong missing, was also recovered (Pl. 33). The height of the extant portion was $2 \frac{9}{16}$ ", so that it probably belonged to the image of which the fragmentary bronze base was found. The trident was a find of considerable importance not only because it confirmed my belief that this temple, like those on the Bujang, was dedicated to the Śaiva cult, but because its style was clearly Pallava.

Two Nine-Chambered Reliquaries (Pl. 32):—These two highly interesting quartzite receptacles had evidently been flung out of the ruined sanctuary when the temple had been pillaged, since they were found amongst the débris just outside. Each receptacle measured about $6 \frac{3}{4}$ " square, had a low foot at each corner and had at one time doubtless possessed a stone cover which was not found. Nine small cylindrical chambers were cut in the floor of each.

No such receptacles are to be seen in the Madras Museum and from enquiries I made there it appears that they are unknown in South India, presumably owing to lack of excavation, for undoubtedly it must be from India that this type of ritual object originated. On the other hand very similar receptacles have been quite frequently found in Java and it is here that we find the solution to the problem as to their use. Examples, larger and more elaborately carved than those under consideration and complete with their lids, are to be seen both in the Batavia and Jogjakarta Museums. In Dr. W. F. Stutterheim's catalogue of the latter museum (p. 17) two receptacles, of limestone and andesite respectively, are described as follows:—"Caskets with nine compartments and their covers. Into the central compartment a part of the ashes of a cremated king was placed; into the others, bits of precious metal and semi-precious stones. The casket was buried in a pit beneath the posthumous statue enshrined in a *chāndī* and served as a magical depository ensuring the survival of the king's soul". Furthermore the same catalogue (p. 10) gives interesting information concerning a statue of a king and queen in the form of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī in the museum collection; "Posthumous statues of royal personages were made in the shape of images of deities. They were placed in a tomb-temple (*chāndī*) above a pit containing a part of the dead king's ashes enclosed in a stone casket. The king was represented in the form of that god into whom his soul returned after death. A budding lotus placed in the joined hand—a symbol of the liberation of the soul—and other peculiarities, distinguished these posthumous figures from the ordinary images of gods. The upkeep

of the *chandi* was entrusted to the village on whose ground it was built in return for exemption from taxes. The *chandi* and its territory became a foundation, the rights and privileges of which were set down in a charter [One in the museum is dated 880 A.D., another 902 A.D.]. The majority of the so-called temples in Java were in reality *chandis* (tomb-temples). They were to endure as long as the royal dynasty hoped to last in order to ensure contact with the souls of the king's predecessors. Therefore they were built of stone and not of bricks, like the ordinary temples. On the other hand, it seems that every hostile dynasty upon conquering a kingdom immediately ruined its *chandis* in order to prevent the restoration of the old power. The removal of the magical depositary with the ashes usually must have caused the ruin of the whole structure."

This Indo-Javanese parallel provides a very satisfactory explanation of the reason for the special importance of this temple, with its use of granite as building material, and for the fact that instead of a *linga* we find the remains of a bronze S'iva which probably represented a deceased king. From the way in which the caskets had evidently been a special object of hostility to the destroyers of the temple it may well be that it had met its end, as in similar cases in Java, before the coming of Islam. Unfortunately no charter of the temple has been discovered so that one cannot date the Kedah *chandi* as closely as has in some cases been possible in Java. But the relative plainness of the ornamentation of the caskets, the early style of the bronze trident and the type of architectural details of the temple, point to an earlier date than those mentioned in the Javanese charters. Finally it is perhaps as well to emphasise that there is no question of Javanese influence, the whole temple and its associated objects being still purely Indian. It has only been necessary to call on the allied evidence from Java to explain a ritual that is undoubtedly of Indian origin, though Indian sources of information on the subject are lacking. The Kedah discoveries are therefore of interest as indicating, what would no doubt have been suspected, the Indian origin of the Javanese ritual.

Dating.

Probably VIIth or early VIIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 9.

(Summit of Kedah Peak).

At this latter date one would hardly expect to add anything in the way of facts to the reports on this very exposed site made by Messrs. Irby and Lefroy¹ and later by Mr. Evans². The former had the advantage of seeing the site when it was first

¹Journal of the F.M.S. Museums, Vol. I, pp. 76-81.

²Ethnology....pp. 105-111.

discovered while, after completing his investigations, Mr. Evans carried out certain treatments with cement with the laudable object of "discouraging future plunderers"—and incidentally, one may add, future archaeologists !

One may however differ from Mr. Evans' conclusions, scanty though the evidence at our disposal remains. In the first place in regard to the platform with a hole in the centre marked A in Irby's plan, I am by no means convinced that this is better described as a cone which Mr. Evans thinks "may have been a *dagoba*, the ring-stone perhaps crowning its summit." I prefer Irby's description of it as a "platform", probably the floor of a building constructed largely of wood, the ring-stone found in the hole (most likely the work of treasure seekers) and the other fragmentary ring-stone probably having been used to strengthen the bases of wooden pillars.

As to the nine "hearths" marked on Irby's plan, this immediately suggests the sacred character to the Hindus of the number nine, and possibly here we have altars dedicated to the Navagrahas (nine planets). There is indeed nothing here to remind one of the massive laterite constructions of the early Buddhists, while on the other hand the size and shape of the granite blocks are reminiscent of Sites 7 and 8. Moreover the few bricks measured belong to Class 2. Again one feels doubtful as to whether early settlers would have penetrated so far as the summit of Kedah Peak. On the whole, therefore, while the paucity of the evidence obliges one to speak with the greatest reserve, I am inclined to regard the remains on the mountain top as those of Hindu shrines, probably not earlier than the VIIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 10.

In the centre of a small enclosure of boulder walls measuring only about 52 feet square, a low mound with bricks indicated the presence of what proved to be the lower portion of a small brick sanctuary of which very probably the superstructure had largely been used for making up the adjacent road in bygone years. An interesting point about the enclosure was that facing the sanctuary, and making a break in the boulder wall of the enclosure, was the plinth of moulded brickwork of an entrance gateway. (Pl. 34). Brick measurements were of Class 1.

The sanctuary, opening to the west and about 11' 6" square, was not easy to excavate because it was exactly bisected by the barbed wire fence dividing Sungai Batu Estate from Tupah Estate at this point. No *snāna-dronī* or *somasūtra* were found and the orientation of the shrine suggested that it was not dedicated to S'iva. Moreover it was situated apart from the S'iva temples on the opposite side of the stream.

Finds.

Foundation Deposits :—When digging within, at a level of about 2' below floor level, one gold and six silver discs, each about 1½" in diameter, were recovered. They are plain on one side and inscribed on the other (Pl. 35 and 36).

I sent photographs of the discs to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti who kindly informed me that the script of the records is South Indian and the language Sanskrit. He sent me his readings as follows:—

- " No. 1. *Sarvv-āpāya-jaha*, i.e. one who has removed all evils.
- No. 2. [A] *moghadarśi*—of unfailing vision i.e. infallible.
- No. 3. *Gandhahasti*—musk elephant.
- No. 4. *Vajr-ā[m*]gabandha*—of diamond build.
- No. 5. Only two letters visible in the first line of which the first looks like *śve* and the 2nd a portion of *ha*. The only letter visible in the 2nd line may be *ga* or *gu*. No sense can be made out.
- No. 6. No letters visible.
- No. 7. The first three letters read *Samanta* and the fourth letter looks like *ga*; the reading of the last two letters is uncertain."

No. 6 is the gold disc and Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum who examined the object itself was able to discern the isolated syllable *om* at the centre.

While Dr. Chakravarti informs me that the inscriptions may be epithets of Buddha he thinks they are more likely to be the names of Bodhisattvas. He refers me to the edition of the Tibetan *Mahāvvyutpatti* by the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹, which gives the tentative equivalents in Sanskrit, and he points out that the names found on discs No. 2 and 3 occur in the same form in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Nos. 72 and 61) while some of the others bear a close resemblance, for example disc No. 1 with No. 45 (*Sarvamalāpagata*) of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* list and No. 4 with No. 19 or No. 69 of the same list.

Dr. Chakravarti considers that the script if found in India might be dated a " little earlier than the VIIIth century "and adds " I should date the script on these discs slightly earlier than that found in the Pesindon plates"² but he thinks that where this script is found in Greater India it might date from the VIIIth or even IXth century A.D. While I would not expect script to remain stationary in such a locality as Kedah during the centuries of active Indian colonization, so directly exposed as it was to the receipt of direct Indian influences from across the Bay of Bengal, I agree that a script introduced in the VIIIth century, towards the

¹*Memoirs*, Vol. IV. pp. 7-10.

²Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften* Vol. VII, plate facing p. 15.

end of the active colonizing period, might remain in use with little modification during the IXth century.

Professor F. D. K. Bosch, to whom I later sent photographs of the discs and a copy of Dr. Chakravarti's letter, is emphatically of opinion that the script dates from the second half of the IXth century. For disc No. 4 he reads *Vajrabandhe* remarking "I am quite sure of this reading, but, unfortunately the word as it stands has no sense, probably because some syllables have been omitted, perhaps, *çvara* making *Vajrabandheçvara* i.e. "The Lord of the diamond bondage". For No. 7 he reads *Samantabhadra* the name of a well-known Bodhisattva which he thinks was not recognized by Dr. Chakravarti on account of the fifth syllable having been struck out.¹ He thinks that the inscriptions are either the names of Bodhisattvas or of pious devotees who named themselves after famous saints or Bodhisattvas.

Professor Bosch further sends me the following very interesting information :—

"I never came across similar inscribed discs in Java or elsewhere in the Archipelago. All the small metal plates that were found beneath sanctuaries (in the pit under the image of the deity) are of a rectangular form or represent some animal or object, whilst the much greater bronze *talams* with upstanding borders, found all over Java, bear no inscription, but show an ornament of lotus &c. on the surface. So it seems to me that the Kedah discs cannot be connected with anything known in Hindu-Javanese archaeology".

This statement of Professor Bosch is of special importance in two ways. Firstly, it offers an explanation as to the *raison d'être* of the discs : they must have been buried in the shrine by devotees when it was dedicated, the image or images that were then set up in the shrine having of course disappeared as is the rule in Islamic Kedah. Secondly, it is clear that the Kedah discs betray no trace of Javanese or Sumatran influence.

Dating.

While it seems difficult to arrive at a very close dating of such cursive script as that of the inscribed discs it seems clear that the second half of the IXth century is the latest date to which they can be attributed. On general grounds, including the absence of Chinese ceramics, it would appear that this Mahāyānist temple, beneath which the discs were evidently buried at the time of its dedication, dates from the VIIIth or IXth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 11.

The existence of this site was known on the Sungai Batu Estate previous to our arrival owing to the estate coolies having cut, through its extensive but low mound, a drainage ditch in the

¹This was subsequently recognized by Dr. Chakravarti quite independently of Dr. Bosch's discovery.

banks of which they noticed laterite and stone. The site lies about fifty yards from the northern border of the Sungai Batu Estate where it joins some low land which is still under padi, as it must have been from very early times. A small tributary of the Sungai Bujang, after irrigating these padi fields, passes quite close to the northern side of the site. The building, which seems to have stood in an enclosure of which a few traces of the boulder foundations were found at one or two points only, was regularly oriented and consisted of two portions,—a main hall and a porch or ante-chamber opening to the east (Fig. 8). The estate drainage ditch had cut diagonally across them both from south-west to north-east. Only the lower courses of the walls consisting of river boulders 2' 6" high and with some laterite blocks on the west and north sides, remained. A remarkable point was that the ante-chamber evidently had had a double wall for two thirds of its length (Pl. 37 and 38). In the main hall, towards the inner edge of the surface of the boulder courses was laid a course of laterite blocks, with traces of a course of bricks (Class 1) bordering them along their inner side. Outside the course of laterite blocks, on the boulder foundation, had stood the stone socles of the timber pillars supporting the roof and some of these socles were found *in situ*, as also were some on the stone-work of the ante-chamber walls. Within the main hall, in each case resting on a base of a few boulders, were two large stone socles concerning which a noteworthy point is that the mortises instead of being square as is usual, were triangular (as in Site 14). Since no tiles were found it is evident that the roof was of wood or thatched. Nothing was found which definitely indicated the purpose of the building, but certain similarities with Site 12, next to be described, suggest a secular use, *e.g.* a royal audience hall or council chamber.

Finds.

Ceramics :—Fragments of rough unornamented earthenware were common on the contemporary habitation level 2' to 2' 6" below present ground level. Below this to about 4' rough sherds continued to be found which suggested an occupation antedating the building (see Site 3).

At a depth denoting that they were contemporaneous with the building were also found a few fragments of greenish glazed Chinese ware, of which I had in 1935 found numerous sherds at Tākuapa on the west coast of Siam. It is a late T'ang ware, dating probably from the VIIIth or IXth century; and it is both rare and widely travelled having been found previously at Brahminabad in Sind and Fostat (Old Cairo)¹.

Glass :—Three fragments were found, of which it is interesting to note that one is apparently the wick-tube of a greenish glass Arab lamp similar to those found at Site 18. Specific gravity 2.57.

¹*Indian Art and Letters* Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 10.

Iron Implements :—A piece of flat, tapering, much corroded iron $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long, which looked like the broken off end of a sword, and three nails of old type (with bent heads) were found near the east wall of the ante-chamber.

Bronze :—Fragments of what was possibly a very plain square image base were found on or beside the south corner of the west wall of the main hall. Its style does not seem compatible with the period of the building, which moreover may have been an audience hall and not a temple. I therefore feel inclined to think that it may have originated from the adjoining site, Site 3, of much earlier date, and that when the object had been destroyed, perhaps as late as the XVIIth century, the fragments had been thrown where we found them.

Dating.

In view of certain points of structural similarity between this site and Sites 12 and 13, and in view of the finding of fragments of late T'ang ware, it seems probable that this building dates from the latter part of the VIIIth or from the IXth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 12.

A few laterite blocks and a very slight mound attracted my attention when I was examining the right bank of the Sungai Bujang just above Site 13. Excavations brought to light what remained of a very ruined building of about the same size as the main hall of Site 11 and constructed in the same way. Brick measurements were of Class 1. One or two pillar socles only remained *in situ*. The building evidently was oriented so as to face the river to its east-south-east, and stood in the centre of an enclosure, with the lower courses constructed of boulders, which probably had measured about 114 feet square, but of which the riverside wall had been eroded away (Fig. 9).

The building is interesting mainly on account of the associated finds (on the old occupation level), the secular character of which suggests the building was perhaps a royal audience hall.

Finds.

Iron and Bronze Objects :—Iron dagger with bronze hilt, height of extant portion $5\frac{1}{4}$ " (Pl. 39). The ends of the finely patinated bronze hilt, were apparently shaped like conventionalised serpents' heads with eyes. Above was what appeared to be a conventionalized lotus ornamentation. The upper part of the hilt is missing. An exactly similar type of dagger is worn by the Buffalo-headed Demon on the Mahiṣasura Maṇḍapam relief, Mahābālipuram, South India, which indicates origin of the style from South India. It evidently penetrated as far as Java where it is represented on the Borobodur bas-reliefs. The much corroded fragments of a bronze vessel were also found.

Chinese Mirrors :—The scattered fragments of two Chinese mirrors were found at floor level, and in the case of one there were sufficient fragments partially to restore the mirror. Professor W. Percival Yetts has been good enough to make a detailed study of this mirror and I am indebted to him for the following valuable report and accompanying illustrations. Professor Yetts writes :—

“ The mirror about to be described was found by Dr. Quaritch Wales in Kedah at Site 12 in the circumstances described by him. Though fragmentary and much corroded, enough remains for it to be recognized as one of a type known to have been made in China under the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.).

“ Before Dr. Wales sent the sixteen fragments to me, he had skilfully assembled them as photographed in Pl. 40, from which the fact may be seen that about half the mirror is missing. Evidently the original diameter was $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches (13.6 c.m.). The thickness of the flat undecorated parts is about $1/16$ inch ; in places where the relief design is highest it is about $3/32$ inch ; and it increases to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch at the rim. The central boss, perforated for the cord, stands $\frac{3}{8}$ inch high.

“ Search through the published catalogues of Chinese mirrors yields about a dozen similar examples, though none is an exact match.¹ The type is a simple one ; for the design consists of six blooms symmetrically disposed around the perforated boss. Some have a seventh bloom in the centre. The most usual shape of the bloom is like our heraldic rose. Chinese cataloguers use the label “ *pao hsiang hua* 寶相花 mirror.” According to Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, *pao hsiang hua* means the stock rose. Yet evidently the term is a general classification for the type, rather than a strictly specific one, because the blooms on some of the mirrors so named cannot possibly be recognized as roses.

“ This type of mirror is well demonstrated by the picture of an example which seems to me most closely to resemble the mirror from Kedah. It is one of the engravings on copper which illustrate a catalogue of the former Manchu imperial collection of bronzes in Peking (Pl. 41). This edition of the book, which is entitled *Hsi-ch'ing ku chien*, reproduced in 1888 the original wood-block edition of 1751. Another example of the same design appears in *Hsiao t'an luan shih ching ying* (VI, 18), a catalogue of mirrors published by Hsü Nai-ch'ang in 1933.

¹Two anonymous sections of the catalogue of the former Manchu imperial collection, viz. *Ning shou chien ku* (1913), XVI, 52 and *Hsi-ch'ing hsü chien, i pien* (1931), XX, 52, 56. The earliest section of this catalogue, mentioned below, *Hsi-ch'ing ku chien*, XL, 66, 67, 70. Hsü Nai-ch'ang, *Hsiao t'an luan shih ching ying* (1933), VI, 18, 19. Liu T'i-chih, *Shan chai chi chin lu* (1934), No. 25, f. 24.

"I have taken care to qualify my comparison in the foregoing paragraph, because the mirror fragments under discussion are so pitted through corrosion that not all the details of the design can be observed. Enough remains to warrant identification with the type represented in Pl. 41 as regards its main features; but perhaps in my tentative reconstruction (Pl. 42) I have put in more than can be seen. One peculiarity of the mirror from Kedah is that it has a plain circular rim in contrast to all the examples I have found in the catalogues, which have a scalloped or lobed shape like the rim in Pl. 41. Chinese writers, comparing such lobes to petals of the mallow, call them *k'uei hua* 葵花. Another shape with a median point to each lobe or petal they term *ling hua* 菱花, the flower of the water-chestnut. Usually these two shapes alternate, as displayed in Pl. 41; and I have ventured to show them thus in my reconstruction, though I must admit that this detail is not clearly defined in the original.

"At the beginning of this report an attribution to the T'ang period is stated. The proof for such dating might be questioned, and indeed it is a matter of archaeological importance in its bearing on Dr. Wales' excavation. The fact that these mirrors are always entered in the catalogues as T'ang products is hardly enough. Unfortunately it is a type which is not inscribed, and so we must depend on the style of the design for a clue to the date. There exists a mass of known T'ang remains which provides the necessary criteria. Documentary evidence is offered, moreover, by a mirror (half of which is lost) decorated with a symmetric floral design stylistically akin to that of the group under discussion. It is included among the reproductions of dated mirrors collected by Takahashi Kenji and Others, and published at Tokyo in 1920 under the title *Kinenkyō-kan zūfu*. Engraved on the reflecting surface of this Chinese mirror are a number of Buddhist figures and note of a Japanese reign-period equivalent to 1031 A.D. One cannot tell how long the mirror had been cast before that; but the additions engraved in Japan do fix the latest possible date."

Pl. 43 shows the two fragments that were recovered of a second Chinese mirror.

Dating.

This site probably dates from the latter part of the VIIIth or IXth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 13.

In his *Ethnology*.....p. 119, Mr. Evans writes that traces of a mound "exist close to the Sungai Bujang and near the factory. The material of it was, I believe, removed for use as road metal and all that now remains is a circular pit, slightly raised at the edges, in the sides of which a few bricks can be seen arranged one above the other. It is said that considerable quantities of bricks were obtained in digging, but nothing else." He evidently, therefore, did not think it worth while to dig there (P. 44).

On excavating the site and carrying out exploratory trenches in the neighbourhood, beneath the "circular pit" we brought to light traces of a brick sanctuary which had stood, as shown in the plan (Fig. 9), as the centre of a group of four subsidiary buildings, mainly of perishable material, all oriented to face the river. No trace of any enclosure wall surrounding the group was found. Of the brick sanctuary there remained only the lower courses and plinth of the north wall and portions of the corresponding courses of the adjoining walls. The levels were evidently disturbed by sinkage but it appeared that the plinth of the north wall was largely built of rubble, being faced only with brick. The remains of a floor of two or three courses of bricks (Class 1) were traceable in places and immediately beneath this were found, one at each of the four corners, a reddish earthenware jar of South Indian style (diameter of mouth 7"), with rounded base, and considerably crushed by earth pressure (Pl. 45). The contents of these jars will be considered below. No *snāna-droni* or *somasūtra* were found in this sanctuary. This fact and the somewhat similar brick construction of the sanctuary suggests relationship to Site 10, and it may therefore have been a Mahāyānist shrine connected with the palace which the nearby Site 12 may well have been. The placing of jars beneath the floor and the blue beads described below, also suggest a connection with Site 14 rather than with any earlier Hindu site.

If indeed the brick sanctuary had been the *vimāna* of a S'aiva temple similar to Site 4 etc. one might have supposed that the structure 13a, which stood south-east of it facing the river, would be its connected *mandapam*. But in fact there is a definite space between the two structures and 13a differed from anything we had seen before. The remains consisted of the boulder foundation of a wall of perishable material with a brick floor beneath which were found fragments of an earthenware jar.

Site 13b, c, d, were merely rectangular stone platforms, consisting of two or three courses of river boulders, almost at modern ground level. In the case of 13b four square stone socles for the support of timber pillars were found *in situ*.

Finds.

Foundation Deposits:—The earthenware jars excavated, one at each end of the four corners of the bricks sanctuary beneath floor level, were filled with infiltrated earth which on sifting was found to contain a number of small objects placed there at the time the temple was founded.

(1) *Mollusc Shells*:—At the bottom of each jar, with its flat surface adnate to the earthenware, was found a more or less corroded dextrorse shell of the mollusc *Senectus argyrostoma*. Perhaps it was used as a substitute for the chank (*Turbinella rapa*) so much used in Hindu ritual.

(2) *Glass Beads* (Pl. 46):—Each jar also contained usually one large bead and several of the small red and blue ones, as well as perhaps one or two of the other small objects described in the following list:—

- Type 1. Opaque yellow spheroidal bead, length $7/12$ ". One specimen only. This type has been found commonly on the beach at Kuala Selinsing but always broken.
- Type 2. Translucent dark blue truncated bicone, length $9/32$ ". One whole specimen and fragments of another. Not known from Kuala Selinsing.
- Type 3. One opaque whitish triplet with traces of external gilding, length $3/8$ ". One specimen. Not known at Kuala Selinsing but I found a twin of similar type at U T'óng, Central Siam.
- Type 4. Opaque blue truncated bicone with white markings, length $3/4$ ". One specimen. I believe this type is unrepresented at Kuala Selinsing.
- Type 5. Opaque light blue gadrooned cylinder, length $3/8$ ". One specimen. Apparently unknown from Kuala Selinsing.
- Type 6. Opaque black disc bead, length $1/20$ ". One specimen. A very rare type at Kuala Selinsing but common at U T'óng and in South India.
- Type 7. Opaque orange disc and short beads, length from $1/10$ " to $1/32$ ". A considerable number were found in the jars, often broken or imperfect. A very common type at Kuala Selinsing.
- Type 8. Opaque red disc beads, length $1/16$ ". Four specimens. A very common type at Kuala Selinsing.
- Type 9. Opaque light blue disc beads, length $1/16$ ". Three specimens. A very common Kuala Selinsing type.
- Type 10. Spherical crystal bead, with plain perforation, diameter $9/16$ ". One specimen found beneath the floor of Site 13a and perhaps contained in a jar, of which fragments were found.

I had an opportunity to show all the above beads to Professor Otley Beyer who described them generally as of types found in the Philippines and there dated late iron age (8th—10th century A.D.), but undoubtedly they continued to be made or used at such sites as Kuala Selinsing and U T'óng until a much later date.

(3) *Bronze*:—A fragment of a small finely patinated bowl and part of a bronze ring. The former closely resembled the bronze from Site 6 and analysis (p. 47) suggests that both are of Chinese origin.

(4) *Gems* etc (Pl. 47). One small polished sapphire, length $\frac{1}{3}$ ", one small hexagonal clear quartz crystal, length $\frac{15}{32}$ ".

(5) *Gold Ornaments*:—Fragments of three very small un-closed gold ear-rings, two of them with beaded ornamentation.

(6) *Silver*:—A fragment of the rim of a silver bowl (un-inscribed).

Ceramics:—Apart from the deposit jars of plain reddish earthenware, a few sherds of similar ware were obtained and two small fragments with what appeared to be an impressed formal design.

Dating.

Probably late VIIIth or IXth century. This is suggested not only by architectural resemblance of the sanctuary to that of Site 10, but also by the curious fact that a small portion of a bronze bowl, of the same appearance and giving almost the same analysis as the fragmentary bowl discovered at Site 6, was here found amongst the foundation deposits. That is to say that whereas at Site 6 the remains of the bronze bowl were found in the position where they had been discarded after use, at Site 13 a fragment of such a bronze was buried ceremoniously at the founding of the temple. Such a change in the function of the object indicates a considerable passage of time, and we shall see another example of the same kind of metamorphosis in the case of the inscription on silver found at Site 14. Incidentally it would seem, and the point is borne out by our excavations, that Chinese bronzes were rare enough in Kedah to be prized on that account.

KEDAH : SITE 14.

This site was indicated by a low mound situated in kampong land on the left bank of the Sungai Bujang. An irrigation ditch dug by the villagers had destroyed the western half of the site. On excavation it proved to have been a platform about 1' 10" high, regularly oriented, and constructed of earth faced with bricks (Class 1 but mostly half bricks) with a floor of one course of laterite blocks (Fig. 10). On the east side a wide ruined stairway of stones and brick led up to the platform (Pl. 48 and 49). Several granite socles, for the timber pillars which had supported the roof, remained *in situ*. A notable point is that the two socles standing on the platform at its eastern end had triangular mortises like those of the two socles found inside the main hall of Site 11. The north-east socle retained *in situ* an iron ring (Pl. 50), which had evidently been used to strengthen the base of the pillar, and this is a peculiarity not found at any other site excavated. About four feet from the south-west corner of the platform were slight traces of laid brickwork and one socle apparently *in situ*. On carefully taking up the laterite floor of the main structure, towards the eastern end of the platform were found, just beneath floor level, two earthenware jars similar to those found beneath Site 13 (Pl. 50). Their contents found after sifting the infiltrated earth are described below.

Finds.

Foundation deposits:—Contained in the above mentioned jars were the following:—

(1) *Coins*:—Two silver coins were found (Pl. 51) one contained in each jar. After examining photographs of these Mr. J. Allan identified them respectively as a half dirhem and a quarter dirhem of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakil (847—861 A.D.) and he states that the half-dirhem bears the date quite legibly 234 A.H. = 848 A.D., the quarter dirhem being of about the same date. Part of an almost completely corroded and unrecognizable bronze coin was also found. A small square hole had been punched through it.

(2) *Inscription on silver*:—A fragment (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long) cut from the rim of a small silver vessel and then inscribed on both sides in South Indian characters (Pl. 52). As only the upper part of the fragment (that nearest to the rim) has survived, very little of the inscription is available for study and Mr. J. Allan, after examining it, writes as follows:—

"I am afraid I cannot make any sense of this. There really is not enough of it. It contains . . . *massa la* and as—*ssa* is a Pali and not a Sanskrit termination, or indeed combination, the inscription must be Buddhist. The date I suppose is 6th—7th century."

(3) *Bronze*:—A small plain bronze finger ring.

(4) *Gems*:—A piece of polished amethystine quartz, length $15/32$ " (Pl. 47).

(5) *Beads*:—A milky quartz spheroidal bead drilled from both ends, length $11/32$ " was found in one of the jars (Pl. 46). Towards the west end of the platform, beneath floor level, an opaque light blue short bead, length $3/32$ ", similar to those found in the Site 13 jars and of common Kuala Selinsing type, was found in the earth. It may have come from a third foundation deposit jar which had been destroyed by the cutting of the irrigation trench.

Ceramics:—Beside the foundation deposit jars a number of coarse undecorated potsherds were found around the platform. Two fragments of a harder stoneware type with traces of a yellowish glaze are probably Chinese of late T'ang period.

Dating.

If Mr. Allan is correct in assigning the inscription on silver to the VIth—VIIth century one can only suppose that it had been obtained from some shrine of the early Buddhist period and was to the founders of Site 14 probably little more than a meaningless talisman like the two Caliphate coins. The latter, no doubt brought by Arab traders, are likely to afford much more valuable evidence for arriving at an approximate date for the founding of the temple.

Indeed the value of Caliphate coins for this purpose is well recognized for they were issued at such frequent intervals that when one finds two of them of about the same date, as in this case, one may suppose that they were probably buried not many years after the date of their issue. We should therefore expect the foundation of this temple to date from about the last half of the IXth century. Of some significance moreover, are the resemblance of the triangular mortised socles to those of Site 11 and the resemblance of the blue bead to blue beads found at Site 13.

KEDAH : SITE 15.

A low mound (Pl. 53) in kampong rubber about 60 yards from the right bank of the Sungai Bujang indicated the existence of this site. Excavations revealed the fairly well preserved moulded laterite lower courses of a square sanctuary surrounded by the lower courses of a plainer but otherwise similar concentric outer laterite structure (Fig. 11 and Pl. 54, 55). The laterite was built directly on its contemporary ground level without stone foundation, but small stones were scattered between the two enclosures. Stone socles, most of them still *in situ*, stood within the inner edge of the inner sanctuary and also on the laterite of the outer structure. Their presence indicated that the superstructure, whatever its style, had been supported on timber pillars. It seems very probable that this temple closely resembled some of the small buildings represented on the Borobodur bas-reliefs which in many cases appear to have been built largely of wood.

The building was regularly oriented, opening towards the east. The approach to the outer entrance was bordered by low laterite balustrades, while at the right side of the entrance to the inner shrine were specially shaped bricks let into the laterite indicating that here had been a foundation-deposit chamber which had been robbed of its contents by treasure seekers.

Finds.

Ceramics :—Two fragments of green glazed Chinese ware, one Sung and one probably Tang, and a few ornamented potsherds were found inside the sanctuary. Of outstanding interest were the scattered fragments of the upper portion of an earthenware jar which we were subsequently able partially to restore (Pl. 56). It was then found that while the upper part of the neck was decorated longitudinally with simple impressed designs, for making some of which cockle shells had been used, the lower and broader portion of the neck was ornamented with bold concentric ridges. Hence, while unlike any pottery known to me from south-east Asia, it immediately recalled certain pottery reliquaries from the Nilgiri Hills preserved in the Madras Museum and also the earthenware vessels excavated at Rajgir (Bihar) and

illustrated in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* of the Kern Institute for 1936 Pl. III. Height of extant portion about 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beads :—One large green glass bead was found between the enclosures ; a smaller blue glass bead found inside the sanctuary was of one of the commonest Kuala Selinsing types.

Glass :—One fragment of green-tinted clear glass (specific gravity 2.57), much scratched, was found inside the sanctuary at about floor level.

Dating.

Probably IXth—Xth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 16.

This was a low mound close to the left bank of the Sungai Bujang, actually in kampong land, but only about 25 yards from the edge of the padi land which thence continues all along both banks for two-thirds of a mile to the higher ground on which Sites 18—23 are situated¹.

Excavation revealed the ruined lower laterite courses of a square double structure which, though considerably smaller, had evidently resembled Site 15 in essential character. The external dimensions of the outer structure were about 20 feet square and of the inner structure about 12 feet square, the sanctuary measuring internally only 7 feet square, as against 11 feet square in Site 15. The temple had opened to the east as at Site 15, but it differed from it in that the sanctuary possessed a laterite floor, while no stone socles were found, but as these might long have remained exposed to view above the laterite, they have probably been removed by peasants who are always eager to make use of them for their own houses.

The extreme importance of this temple rests not on its architecture, for it was very ruined and added nothing to what we had learnt from Site 16 of this type of structure, but on the great good fortune that the brick lined relic chamber beside the door had evidently been overlooked by treasure seekers for it was found intact with the deposits *in situ*. This deposit chamber was situated beside the entrance to the sanctuary, let into the laterite about 2' from its base. To make room for the chamber one laterite block had been omitted and the walls of the resultant space had been lined with angle-bricks leaving a central cavity measuring about 9" x 9" and eight inches high. The surface of the laterite block forming the floor of the chamber had been slightly hollowed out in

¹Just on the border of the padi land, about 15 yards from Site 16 a trial trench revealed the presence of a brick wall (bricks of Class 2) apparently part of another temple, but further excavation was not carried out here, owing to the fact that the wall lay mainly under a peasant's house.

the centre to receive the bottom of the bronze relic casket. The latter, measuring at most $4\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter, had a lid, provided with hinges on opposite sides (Pl. 57). The casket was so placed in the chamber that the hinges were oriented N.—S. It was tightly closed and so was not opened until it was brought to London when it was found that only one hinge was held by a metal pin, the other probably having been originally secured by a wooden one that had of course decomposed. The style of the casket is similar to, but simpler than, the metal caskets exhibited in the Madras Museum, where they are described as chunam boxes. Its contents will be described below.

Finds.

The Foundation Deposits (Pl. 58-61) :—These were contained, with a quantity of infiltrated soil, in the bronze casket which was found in position as above stated. The nature of the contents, which consisted principally of model animals, miniature weapons and other implements, and gems, suggests at once that they were intended to represent the attributes of a deity, possibly a Tantric form of Bodhisattva which I have not yet been able to identify. The form of the weapons recalls some of those depicted on the Borobodur bas-reliefs (where however the rectangular shield is very rare) and I was at first led to suspect that here at any rate we had evidence of reflux influence from Java. But I dismissed this idea and realised that the influence must have spread in the opposite direction, following the normal rule, when I found similar swords and shields depicted on the Ajanta cave paintings¹. Moreover the *damaru* drum is not only of purely South Indian style but is a type that does not appear to be represented among the drums so frequently sculptured on the Borobodur bas-reliefs.

The following is the detailed list of the objects contained in the casket :—

Standing in the centre of the casket was a *golden bowl* (diam. $\frac{3}{4}$ ") which contained a small *pearl* and a little lump of what is probably a *gold-silver alloy* with a slag-like encrustation. At the bottom of the bowl was a mass of decomposed metallic substances including *lead-carbonate*. Above the *golden bowl* was a *golden lotus*. Facing the *golden bowl* stood the three model *animals*, presumably the vehicles of the deity,—a *lion* of gold, a *bull* of silver and a *horse*² of copper. A large shapeless mass of corroded iron, which had become stuck to the bottom of the casket and could only be removed with difficulty, was responsible for the discoloration of many of the weapons, etc. It probably represented a fourth animal, most likely an *elephant*.

¹Griffiths, *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave temples of Ajanta*, 1896, Vol. I, pl. 69 (Cave XVII) et sqq. Wall Painting, p.).

²Tests carried out at the Imperial Institute showed that the *lion* (sp. gr. 15.22) consisted mainly of gold with a little silver, the *bull* (sp. gr. 10.02) mainly of silver with a little copper, and the *horse* (sp. gr. 6.61) mainly of copper with a little lead and traces of iron, tin and zinc not being detected.

The gold and silver *weapons and other implements* arranged around the silver bowl were as follows:—

Gold: a *bow*, two *arrows* (the heads apparently having cutting edges instead of points), a *sword*, a *dagger*, a *noose*, a *staff* or *spear*, a *shield*, a *damaru drum*, and a rectangular piece perhaps representing a *book*. Silver: a *bell* (or *seal*), a *ploughshare* and a *yoke*.¹

The *gems*, etc., (perhaps intended to include the sacred 'nine gems'), scattered apparently at random, were as follows:—

One diamond, one polished zircon, one polished amethyst, and one amethystine quartz, one polished sapphire, one pearl, and two cast yellow glass octahedrons (specific gravity 2.55), one larger and one very small lump of what are probably a gold-silver alloy (sp. gr. 16.0 and 11.0 respectively), and one small metallic lump largely altered to a white powder (sp. gr. 8.6). The specific gravity of the yellow glass octahedrons corresponds closely to that of the Arab glass found at many of the sites and in this case also a Near Eastern origin seems probable. One *bead*, of limestone or marble, was found in the casket. Its sp. gr. was 2.59.

Bronze objects (Pl. 62-64):—The following were found near together at floor level in the S.W. corner of the sanctuary. From the way in which these diverse fragmentary objects were found at one spot it may well be that some superstitious individual or a secret devotee of the old gods had collected them and deposited them here, perhaps long after the images, etc. had been ruthlessly destroyed:—

The aureole, in several fragments, of a small image, height $4\frac{1}{2}$ "; a fragmentary base of a small image, ornamented with lotus petals; portion of the finger of an image, length $1\frac{7}{16}$ " ; two four-cornered (hanging) temple lamps, very similar in style to one in the Madras Museum (Museum No. 912), into the central aperture of each of which had presumably been fitted a rod (similar to the one in the Madras Museum) or other device for attachment to the lamp suspensor; a circular bronze cupola, with central aperture and radiating rings, which may have been a lamp (or the umbrella of an image?); a bronze lamp suspensor (?); the fragments (now restored) of a small bronze bell, height $2\frac{3}{4}$ ", which had evidently been provided with a tongue.

Iron Objects:—These were found with the bronze remains: A rusted iron ring (diam. $3\frac{3}{8}$ ") with part of a wall staple attached; a section of rusted iron tubing, 3" long, external diameter 2".

Dating.

Probably IXth—Xth century A.D.

¹Analysis of a small fragment of the *noose* wire showed it to contain 87% of gold, 9% of silver and a little copper. This percentage would apparently apply also to the other objects described above as of gold. Analysis of a small piece of the wire handle of the *bell* (or *seal*) gave 92% silver with small amounts of copper and iron.

KEDAH : SITE 17.

Bukit Pendiya is a hill about 50 feet high and 150 yards from the right bank of the river. Mr. Evans mentions that he drove a trench through a slight mound on its summit finding only some bricks, and that he also found a "small brick lined hollow" adjoining it.¹

Excavations carried out by us added little to this. Some fragmentary remains of the lower courses of a brick wall were uncovered, the brick measurements (of Class 1) suggesting considerable antiquity. Otherwise nothing but a few coarse red potsherds were found.

I examined the earthwork about a quarter of a mile away, on the southern edge of the Bukit Pendiya ridge, which is regarded by the Malays as a *pendiyat* or "trap" for elephants. I agree with Mr. Evans (loc. cit.) that the Malays are right in this belief, but there is no evidence on which even an approximate date may be attributed to it.

KEDAH : SITE 18.

As already stated, about two thirds of a mile south-south-west of Site 16 is situated an island of higher ground amongst the padi land, extending along both banks of the Sungai Bujang. On the upper half mile of this section of higher ground, as a result of local enquiry and exploration, several sites were located which belong to a later period than those hitherto described.

Site 18 stands about forty yards from the right bank of the river. It was marked by a rather extensive low mound from which the villagers had obtained some large fragments of worked granite which appeared to be parts of a lintel and moulded door-frame. Excavations of the site brought to light, at the northern end, the lower courses of a considerable rectangular building, regularly oriented, and divided into two apartments, the smaller or northern one only having a brick floor (Fig. 12 and Pl. 65). The walls consisted of three courses of laid laterite blocks, the upper course edged with bricks (of very variable dimensions), while a few of the stone socles with square mortises, that had formed the bases of the timber pillars supporting the roof, were found towards the northern end of the building. Though laterite is substituted for river boulders, in general the structure of the extant remains recalls that of Sites 11 and 12. That Site 18 is of considerably later date, however, was indicated by the existence (Pl. 66) of stone lintels and door-frames (the position of the door is uncertain) and by the use of long narrow unglazed tiles for the roof. A typical tile measured $7\frac{1}{4}$ " x $2\frac{1}{16}$ ", and was provided with hook for attachment.

The resemblance in mode of construction to Sites 11 and 12, the absence of ritual objects, as well as the vast quantities of good

¹*Ethnology* . . . p. 121.

quality Chinese ceramics found in association with the building suggest that it was a royal audience hall or some other palace building.

Finds.

Ceramics :—Comparatively little rough earthenware, but on the other hand large quantities of excellent Sung porcelain, mostly fragmentary, were excavated both outside and inside the building. The Sung porcelain included a high percentage of good Lungchuan celadons, but perhaps almost as common was a ware with olive-green glaze that has been found in Tonkin and was in 1935 excavated by me at C'āiya, Peninsular Siam. Plate 67 shows an example from C'āiya for comparison with a bowl of approximately the same shape and size from Site 18. The body and glaze are identical though the decoration is somewhat different, but that is not remarkable as the various fragments of this ware found at Site 18 differed considerably in this respect among themselves, so that the potters evidently made use of a considerable range of decorative motifs. No Sawankalok ware was found and indeed it is doubtful if such ware was exported from Siam before the XIVth century.

A mother-of-pearl spoon, presumably Chinese, was found outside the building amongst the broken porcelain.

Iron objects :—Iron nails were common.

Bronze objects :—Two small discs, possibly very corroded and unrecognizable coins, were found; also several fragments of vessels or bells.

Beads :—One carnelian hexagonal bicone (length $\frac{1}{2}$ ") and one spherical stone bead (diam. $\frac{1}{3}$ ") were found.

Glass :—Numerous fragments of amber, brown and green glass vessels, including several bases with pontil marks, were found. These differ little from similar glass fragments found at earlier sites, the glass being bubbly and of specific gravity varying from 2.51 to 2.54, and are believed to be all of Arab origin. Besides the portions of small vessels just mentioned, the fragments of two Arab lamps were found. In the case of one of these lamps enough fragments were found to restore it partially, the result giving a sufficiently clear idea of the style of the lamp (Pl. 68). The glass is of a greenish tinge with a narrow black rim round the top of the lamp. It was evidently intended to be suspended by chains passed through the six handles. Inside the lamp, part of the glass tube, attached to the base and intended to hold the wick, was still extant. The height of the lamp was about four inches. It is very similar in shape to a much larger Arab lamp in the British Museum which is decorated with enamelled designs. The latter was probably made in Syria and is said to date from

the XIVth century. The present example is no doubt considerably earlier, especially as what appears to have been a wick-tube of a similar lamp was found at Site 11.

Dating.

The ceramics and architectural style suggest that the building dates from the XIth or XIIth century, A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 19.

The remains of this Hindu temple which had probably been entirely built of bricks (Class 2), were situated close to the left bank of the Bujang. They had been comparatively well preserved owing no doubt to the silting up of the river sand over the site soon after the temple was abandoned so that only a very slight mound marked the site. It had evidently been a vaulted shrine having a porch opening to the east. The thick walls had somewhat elaborate mouldings. At their highest point the remains of the walls stood four feet above a foundation consisting of a single course of small water worn stones (Fig. 13, Pl. 69, 70).

Findings.

Ceramics :—Rough pottery fragments and some fragments of Lungchuan celadon were found at the old occupation level but the celadons were not so fine nor so abundant as at Site 18.

Iron Objects :—Several nails of old type were found outside and inside; an iron hafted implement was found inside the building (length $6\frac{3}{4}$ "); and an iron ladle (diameter $2\frac{5}{16}$ "), lacking most of its handle, probably used for holy water in connection with ritual, was found outside the temple.

Bronze Objects :—A pointed bronze object (length $2\frac{7}{16}$ "), with thick crenulated edges, was found among the bricks of the western wall of the shrine. It seems to be the central prong of a trident of S'iva (Pl. 73). Another fragment of bronze was also found.

Statue of Gaṇeśa (Pl. 71, 72) :—Two fragments of a weathered terracotta Gaṇeśa, of which the head was not recovered, were found lying at about floor level, one fragment in the porch, the other outside it. The height of the complete image was probably about 1' 16". The Gaṇeśa is of the four-armed form but only the left lower hand remains, from which the trunk is, as usual, represented as if in the act of picking up a cake or woodapple. The jewelled necklace and armlets can be distinguished. The god is seated with the right-knee raised, in the attitude called *mahārājāḷilā* (royal ease). This is a noteworthy point of contrast with the usual Javanese form of Gaṇeśa which has the soles of the feet touching.

Nine-chambered Reliquary (Pl. 73) :—A portion of a granite nine-chambered reliquary was found at floor level outside the door of the porch. It had evidently been broken and thrown there by pillagers of the temple. The extant portion measured 1' 11" in length with a height of 1'. The interior of the casket was 7" high and 8" across. Both the nine compartments and the reliquary as a whole were much larger than the caskets found at Site 8. The latter were also much plainer, though the one under consideration was less elaborately moulded than the contemporary Javanese ones to be seen in the Batavia and Jogjakarta Museums. The function of the Javanese reliquaries has been described above.

Dating.

Evidence of the ceramics and architectural style suggest XIth—XIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 20.

Near the left bank of the Bujang close to Site 19 was a small hillock on the summit of which was a mound the excavation of which revealed the very ruined lower courses of a porched brick shrine, resembling Site 19 in style and presumably dedicated also to the S'aiva cult. Bricks measurements variable.

Finds.

As is so often the case with exposed temples situated on eminences nothing of interest was found except a few fragments of Sung celadon at floor level which supported the evidence of architectural style as to the age of the building.

Dating.

XIth—XIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITES 21, 22, 23.

On the left bank of the Bujang a short distance above Site 20 near the border of the island of higher ground, were the remains of three more brick temples with brick measurements of Class 2. Of these Site 21 had been a rather plain rectangular building measuring about 21' x 10' of which there remained the lower courses of the brick walls and a few stone socles of the timber pillars which had supported a tiled roof. At Sites 22 and 23 there remained only traces of broken bricks with tiles in the former case. No finds of interest were made in connection with either of these three sites but fragments of Sung celadon were common.

Dating.

XIth—XIIth century A.D.

KEDAH : SITE 24.

This site is situated just under half a mile from the right bank of the Sungai Muda, on the edge of the Tikam Batu Estate, close to the main road at mile 44. It is a low natural hillock sloping gently to the north-east, and is the last piece of high ground before the padi lands bordering the river are reached. The top of the hillock is about ninety yards long and forty broad. The summit is very exposed and bricks and laterite blocks lay scattered about. Unauthorized digging years ago had brought to light a large carved object of fine-grained sandstone (Pl. 74) which had probably previously lain buried in the ground, and was apparently known locally as "Raja Bersiong's flagstaff" and venerated accordingly. It measures about 4' 2" square at the base and 1' 9" high, while between plinth and cornice are elaborately moulded pilasters and interpilasters. On the flat top there is, in the centre, a square depression 5½ inches deep with smaller and deeper rectangular excavations in the centre of each side of the square depression, thus giving the whole a cruciform appearance. It would appear likely that the stone is either a Hindu *vedika* (fire-altar) or the pedestal of an image. The elaborate ornamentation of the altar coupled with the variable size of the bricks suggests a fairly late date.

KEDAH : SITE 25 (BUKIT PENJARA).

Bukit Penjara is a small hill, about 150 feet high, with a rounded outline and covered with jungle. On the summit we excavated a mound which had evidently previously received the attention of either Colonel Low or treasure seekers, or perhaps both. The remains appeared to be those of a small brick porched sanctuary opening to the west. The brick measurements were of Class 2. Nothing of interest was found but the brick measurements and general appearance suggest that the building was perhaps a contemporary of Sites 19—23.

The *Kedah Annals* (p. 160) relate that Raja Bersiong built a prison on the summit of this hill, which derives its name from this occurrence. To this one can only remark that the brick remains are certainly those of a shrine, but there is sufficient level space on the summit, near the brick remains, for a wooden building to have been erected, of which no trace remains.

KEDAH : SITE 26. (BUKIT MERIAM).

This is a long low ridge running in a north-south direction and varying from about 100 to 150 feet in height. In early times it was probably an island among the swamps, with a little flat land bordering the foot which is now kampong. It was probably somewhere is this kampong that Colonel J. Low found his early inscription " under the centre of an ancient brick building in

Kedah, near Bukit Meriam"¹, but the site does not appear to be now known to the local inhabitants.

At the northern end of the ridge there is a level space only about 30 feet broad on which there are some brick remains at one point which, as is usual in such exposed situations, have certainly been dug into by treasure seekers on more than one occasion. From the size of the bricks (Class 2) one may suspect that here had stood a small shrine comparable to Site 25 in style and period, but one could not be certain on that point. According to the *Kedah Annals* (p. 160) King Phra Ong Mahawangsa had a palace on Bukit Meriam at which he received the Sheikh Abdulla who converted him to Islam. Perhaps the palace stood on some other part of the ridge.

KEDAH : SITE 27 (SUNGAI TRUS).

In the course of carrying out local enquiries, our assistant, Mohd. Noor bin Haji Aroff, happened one day to be exploring on the Sungai Trus in the neighbourhood of Kampong Batu Lintang. In response to his questions as to the existence of local antiquities he was told by the villagers that about a quarter of a century earlier a boy, when fishing in the river, had hooked a gold belt which had subsequently been confiscated as treasure trove by the authorities and that it was believed to be in the State Treasury at Alor Star. On mentioning the matter at the State Treasury, four fragments of a gold belt were produced and I was enabled to examine them personally and have them photographed (Pl. 75-77), while a test showed that the gold was approximately 24 carat. A document in Malay recording the remarkable circumstances of the find was also produced and a translation was made for me which I think is of sufficient interest to reproduce here :—

"S. C. Minute Paper
No. 1519/1332.

NOTE.

GOLD FOUND WHILE FISHING AT BATU LINTANG RIVER IN MUKIM SIMPOR IN THE DISTRICT OF KUALA MUDA.

As reported by Che Ahmad, District Officer, Kuala Muda, in his letter No. 348/1332 dated 18th Jemadialawal, 1332, he received a report from the Penghulu of Mukim Simpor saying a boy named Awang aged 10 years, of Batu Lintang went out fishing at Batu Lintang River. While fishing his fishing line got entangled with a gold belt weighing about 22 katis. He (District Officer) sent for the boy to bring in the gold belt to the District Office at Kuala Muda. The Penghulu brought up Awang together with his mother. Che Ahmed, District Officer, examined Awang who said that the gold belt had been taken to a goldsmith and sold in Penang for \$200.00 and the remainder of the gold was with a person named Jasin bin Akil, which was weighed in five

¹Essays relating to Indo-China, Vol. I, p. 232.

pieces (big and small) at Bungkal 5.3 Mayam. 4saga. On 10th Jemadialakhir, 1332, when Che Ahmad, District Officer, afore-mentioned, came to Alor Star on duty he surrendered the remnants of gold to Government.

By command of His Highness Tunku Mahmud, President State Council, on the advice of Mr. Maxwell, Adviser to the Kedah Government, Che Ahmad, District Officer, was ordered to arrest all persons taking part in effecting the sale of the gold belt in Penang, and the Police at Penang were instructed to stop the gold belt from being melted.

Che Ahmad, District Officer, together with Mr. Speers, Assistant Commissioner of Police, Kuala Muda, and the persons selling the gold went to Penang. The people showed the place where the gold was disposed of, to wit a shop No. 57 in Stuart Lane, the proprietor's name being Tan Hock. It was discovered that Tan Hock had already melted the gold belt weighing Bungkals 8 and the price paid to the seller was \$369.00.

On 17th Rejab, 1332, corresponding to 11th June, 1914, this matter was discussed in the State Council. It transpired that the gold belt was of ancient make without an owner. It was therefore decided that the gold should become Government property to be kept in the State Treasury. And by order of the State Council I hereby write this note on the history of this gold that was found.

As to the boy who sold the gold and his comrades it was decided not to do anything as the gold had already been melted in Penang and they were all pardoned for their offence as then people did not know the laws relating to found property and the like.

MOHAMED SHERIFF BIN OSMAN,

Secretary to the State Council,

22.7.32 = 16.6.1914.

As shown in the illustrations, only a small portion of the actual gold belt of woven golden wire has survived, but fortunately the most interesting parts, the clasps and two repoussé pieces are extant. The clasps were held in position by a split pin and the empty jewel settings are visible. The repoussé pieces are ornamented with *simha-mukha* (lion faces) best seen in the smaller fragment. Gold belts ornamented similarly with *simha-mukha* are depicted on stone images in India from the IXth century onwards. The craftsmanship may be compared with the gold bracelets dug up in Singapore some years ago¹, but the bracelets although flexible are not made of woven wire and their *simha-mukha* are very perfectly formed so that one might feel inclined to attribute a very considerably earlier date to them than the Majapahit period which is suggested for them in Sir Richard Winstedt's article. On the other hand the *simha-mukha* of the Kedah belt is undoubtedly much later as is shown by the fact that it is degenerating into a mere ornamental motif of foliage. Though it is probably a little earlier I would be inclined to regard it as a parallel development to such a belt as that represented on the stone image of a Bhairava from Sungai Langsat, Sumatra, and believed by Dr. Schnitger to be a portrait statue of the XIVth century Menangkabau ruler Adityavarman.² It was thus probably made in the XIIIth century A.D.

¹R. O. Winstedt, *J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. VI, 1928, pp. 1-4 and Pl. XXVI.

²Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Pl. XIII.

KEDAH : SITE 28 (SROKAM).

As Low remarks¹ "traces of the wall of the fort of Srokam still exist, showing that it was partly erected with the laterite found close at hand, and lining the north bank of the river" (close to the railway line). A short distance outside the up-river wall of the fort is a mound known locally as "Raja Bersiong's grave". It has nothing to do with Raja Bersiong however, but there is a Mohammedan gravestone standing on a low mound over which is erected a modern mosque. Used as a base for the wooden ladder leading up to the door of the mosque, there is a stone lintel somewhat reminiscent of one seen lying in the kampong near Site 18. Probably the mound marks the remains of a temple. Excavations had to be confined to a trial trench which produced a few fragments of celadon of late Sung or Yüan type and a few potsherds with stamped lotus designs.

A few miles up the Muda river from Srokam, in the Sidam district, two fishermen had recovered two perfectly preserved celadon dishes (Pl. 78) that had been washed out of the river bank. They took them to the District Officer who asked me to examine them. They appeared to me to be not earlier than the XIVth century.

KEDAH : SITE 29 (KOTA AUR).

As stated by Low² the outlines of Kota Aur may still be traced. The fort is situated on the north bank of the Sungai Muda and is easily reached by leaving the main road to Kota Kuala Muda at the 46th mile and walking across a short strip of padi lying between the road and the river. The enclosure is rectangular and is formed not by earthen walls but by moats, the excavated earth probably having been used to heighten the interior of the *kota*, which is surrounded by very low-lying land.

Towards the centre of the enclosure there lay a large block of what appeared to be a fine-grained sandstone measuring 2' 9" x 2' 1½" x 1' 2" with an excentric circular hole 2½" deep and having a diameter of 4½". Possibly it had been used in connection with some Hindu ritual. Nearer the river bank lay scattered broken bricks.

At Kota Aur the river had eroded its right bank deeply and the process was still going on, leaving exposed a section throughout the length of the *kota*. The deposits had a depth of about three feet, betokening a considerable duration and density of occupation. Besides much rough pottery there appeared to be a fairly high percentage of provincial Yüan celadon fragments and, towards the top only, Ming blue and white which has been identified as dating from the XVth and XVIth centuries.

¹*Kedah Annals*, p. 100.

²*Kedah Annals* p. 109.

Opposite Kota Aur in Province Wellesley the river has not eroded its bank and traces of brickwork were seen which appear to have been the remains of some of the "ruins of temples dedicated to the Buddhist and Hindu worship combined, although I suspect Siva was held the most honoured shrine"¹. We did not carry out excavations in Province Wellesley, but it seems possible that the brickwork is the remains of late Tantric shrines as Low seems to imply.

KEDAH : SITE 30.

West of the Sungai Batu, a small stream which gives its name to the Sungai Batu Estate, and situated within the estate close to the Government Reserve Road which runs through this south-eastern part of the estate, at three places drainage trenches have revealed the existence of laid courses of brickwork. Although excavations were carried out at these sites, nothing suggestive of temple architecture was discovered and the finds consisted only of tiles (broader and thinner than those at Site 18) and one or two pieces of coarse pottery. In view of the size of the bricks which were mostly of Class 2 and the style of the brickwork, I am not disposed to attribute these remains to a period anterior to the XIVth century. They may indeed be of comparatively modern origin.

SOME TYPICAL BRICK DIMENSIONS FROM KEDAH SITES.

The brick measurements below are recorded in inches as follows, length \times breadth \times thickness. Where only imperfect bricks were found the length is omitted. From a comparative study of the dimensions of typical bricks from Kedah sites for the dating of which other evidence exists, it seems that breadth is the dimension which is of most value as giving an indication of age, and a rough division into two classes may thus be established on this basis :—

Class 1. Bricks having a breadth of 7" or over suggest that they were made prior to about 900 A.D.

Class 2. Bricks having a breadth of less than 7" suggest that they were made later than about 900 A.D.

Where the breadth of bricks at a site is found to be very variable one must bear in mind the possibility that the larger ones are re-employed from earlier sites. But the classification as a means of roughly dating a site cannot be considered as absolutely reliable, and should wherever possible be used in conjunction with other classes of evidence such as architectural style, associated ceramics, etc. And in the present state of our knowledge its application beyond the borders of Kedah would be unwise.

¹Low, *Kedah Annals*, p. 107.

<i>Site 4 (Class 1)</i>	<i>Site 18 (Variable)</i>
$11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
$11\frac{1}{2} \times 8 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Site 5 (Class 1)</i>	$9\frac{3}{4} \times 6 \times 2$
$11 \times 8 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$	$12 \times 7 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Site 9 (Class 2)</i>	<i>Site 19 (Class 2)</i>
$6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Site 10 (Class 1)</i>	$9 \times 5 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
$13 \times 9 \times 3$	<i>Site 20 (Variable)</i>
$11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Site 11 (Class 1)</i>	$11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
$14 \times 9 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Site 21 (Class 2)</i>
<i>Site 12 (Class 1)</i>	$13 \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
$6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Site 13 (Class 1)</i>	<i>Site 22 (Class 2)</i>
$14\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times 2$
$16 \times 9\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$10 \times 5\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
$14 \times 9 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Site 23 (Class 2)</i>
<i>Site 13a (Class 1)</i>	$11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
$12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
$10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Site 24 (Variable)</i>
<i>Site 14 (Class 1)</i>	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 7 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
$13\frac{3}{4} \times 8 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Site 15 (Class 1)</i>	8×2
$12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	$6\frac{3}{4} \times 2$
<i>Site 16 (Class 2)</i>	<i>Site 25 (Class 2)</i>
$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
$10 \times 5\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6 \times 2$
<i>Site 17 (Class 1)</i>	<i>Site 26 (Class 2)</i>
$14\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	$6\frac{1}{4} \times 2$
$15 \times 8 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
	<i>Site 30</i>
	(a) $11\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
	(b) $5\frac{3}{4} \times 2$
	(c) $11 \times 7\frac{3}{4} \times 2$

ANALYSES OF SOME BRONZE OBJECTS FROM KEDAH.

I am indebted to the Imperial Institute for the following analyses of various bronze objects from Kedah sites. The word "bronze" is used throughout as a term of convenience, for while copper always forms the major constituent, the presence of more than one alloying element in appreciable amount renders classification as bronze, brass, etc. difficult.

In the following tables,

n.d. = not detected, *i.e.* the metal was specifically looked for and not found.

(—) = no evidence of the presence of appreciable quantities of the metal concerned, although no specific search for it was made.

<i>Specimen.</i>	<i>Copper.</i> %	<i>Tin.</i> %	<i>Lead.</i> %	<i>Zinc.</i> %
Miniature shrine roof (Site 4) ..	80.0	4.7	11.0	0.3
Bell fragment (Site 4)	75.5	18.8	4.2	(—)
Ring and staple (Site 4c) ..	84.5	0.8	1.9	9.2
Fragment of bowl (Site 6) ..	74.5	23.3	n.d.	n.d.
Image base (Site 8)	98.8	n.d.	n.d.	(—)
Fragments (Site 11)	69.7	25.0	2.9	(—)
Restored mirror (Site 12) ..	69.1	24.0	n.d.	n.d.
Unrestored mirror (Site 12) ..	75.5	23.6	n.d.	(—)
Fragment of vessel (Site 12) ..	72.4	24.2	n.d.	(—)
Dagger hilt (Site 12)	72.0	2.3	4.4	7.5
Fragment of bowl (Site 13) ..	76.3	22.7	n.d.	(—)
Ring (Site 13)	79.7	n.d.	n.d.	17.1
Ring (Site 14)	98.0	n.d.	n.d.	(—)
Casket (Site 16)	77.6	11.2	5.2	4.0
Finger (Site 16)	83.0	6.7	3.6	5.6
Lamp (Site 16)	84.3	n.d.	3.0	12.7
Aureole (Site 16)	84.1	9.6	1.2	2.8
Image base (Site 16)	81.5	0.4	2.0	14.6
Thin fragment (Site 18) ..	75.7	21.7	0.8	(—)
Fragment of bell (Site 18) ..	74.4	19.4	2.1	0.8
Prong of trident (Site 19) ..	87.3	4.0	3.1	1.4
Fragment (Site 19)	81.8	9.7	6.9	(—)

A noticeable point is that lead, which is an impurity, is most usually absent in objects believed to be of Chinese origin. It is also worthy of note that the images, and judging by the Bidor Avalokites'vara this also applies to the Perak images, were made almost wholly of copper. At first sight this seems remarkable in a country where tin was easily obtainable but the casting of images was probably governed by strict Indian religious tradition.

PERAK : GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS.

As with Kedah so with Perak we have primarily to consider the nature of the river valleys and anchorages available to ancient colonists, and the examination of a good physical map of the country shows at once that conditions in the two regions must always have been different.

In Kedah the areas of ancient settlement are protected by the Sungai Muda from the danger of destruction by torrential streams draining from the main range while the catchment area of Kedah Peak is so limited that the streams which have their sources on the slopes are small, though they irrigate sufficient habitable land on the talus of the mountain. Thus in the course of centuries the Bujang has brought down scarcely sufficient detritus to do more than cover with a gentle cloak the remains of antiquity. Only when it has changed its course has it destroyed sites on its banks, and such movements have been on a very small

scale so that fortunately we are left with considerable material for archaeological investigation.

On the other hand the short torrential rivers of Perak drain the vast slopes of the great main range of the Peninsula, rush headlong down from their mountainous gorges and are subject to extensive flooding in the monsoon season. Between them they have deposited a wide expanse of alluvial land stretching far out to sea beyond the modern town of Telok Anson, flat swampy jungle at the present day and uninhabitable in the days of the colonists if it even existed. The probability is that it did not, for I understand that geologists are now of opinion that the tin-bearing alluvium bordering the foothills is of very recent origin indeed.

The Sungai Perak is the chief river of Perak to-day, traversing the state as it does from north to south before turning westwards to the sea. But it is well-known that almost within living memory the Sungai Perak entered the sea much further to the north at the great inlet now known as Sungai Dinding. Evidently the old river had brought down so much detritus that its mouth had become blocked and it was forced to erode another channel further to the south. In the process it captured the waters of the Kinta, Bidor and Sungkai rivers, which had previously either entered the sea independently or been tributaries of the Sungai Bernam, but now became tributaries of the Sungai Perak. Further south the Slim river remains a tributary of the Bernam, which latter is evidently much reduced in volume by the loss of its other tributaries.

One cannot tell at the present day what sort of anchorages the mouths of these rivers would have provided in the early centuries of our era, but in any case that would have been a matter of less concern on the Perak coast than on the coast of Kedah, which latter is much more exposed to the South West monsoon. There would then remain, in the eyes of the early settlers, only the question as to whether there would have been sufficient flat land in the valleys on which to grow grain. There would certainly appear to have been enough to satisfy the requirements of the founders of the early settlements. Later one would suppose that big cities could only have thrived in the rather narrow quarters of these river valleys if the object of the inhabitants had been primarily to exploit the rich tin-bearing alluvium of this region, the profits from which would have enabled them to import food.

Now we come to a point on which it is important to lay the strongest emphasis. The effects of flooding and changes of course of the rapid rivers, when swollen by the monsoon rains, might well have been disastrous to the remains of any ancient cities situated on their banks. That such has certainly been the case in India, where conditions in some respects similar though on a grander scale prevail, is made clear in the following passage from a recent work on the achievements of the Indian Archaeo-

logical Survey, which may well be quoted in the present connection :—

“ In her swift-moving and ever-changing rivers, which are liable to oscillate widely within their spacious beds, India has another powerful source of destruction to her monuments. The tributaries of the Indus must have played havoc with the scores of cities growing on their banks, to which they brought in turn great prosperity and certain destruction. The river Padma, the main current of the Ganges in its lower course, is also named destroyer of monuments (*kirtināsā*), the appellation originally acquired by reason of engulfing temples and other monuments at Rajnagar in the Faridpur district : in the present generation (actually in 1923) it justified the title by embosoming a landmark—a tall spire commemorating two local heroes of the sixteenth century at Rajabari in the Decca district. The protection of the Archaeological Survey was of no avail ; all that the Department could do was to take the last photographs of the monument as it was nearing its inevitable doom. The latest instance of disappearance of a protected monument owing to erosion is that of the *stupa* at Rohkari in the Mianwali district in Punjab, which has been washed away by the Indus. It is now certain that the vagaries of the Indus, which at one time approached and at another time receded from the ancient city of Mohenjo-Daro, had something to do with the destruction of the site. The deflection of the present course of the Indus towards the ruins, which is causing a certain amount of anxiety about their safety at the present moment, it a forceful remainder of what might have happened 5,000 years ago.”¹

Added to this one must bear in mind the effect of the silting up of the valleys as a result of the activities of the tin-miners from early times, a process much accelerated in recent decades by modern mining methods, which moreover frequently deliberately divert the course of streams. A striking modern example of this process of destruction is provided by the fate of the town of Kuala Kubu which was overwhelmed a few years ago by a change in the course of the Sungai Selangor resulting from mining operations higher up stream. The roofs of its houses are now buried beneath alluvium, and a new town had to be built in a higher situation.

The point that must be borne in mind, therefore, is that it would be quite possible for large cities to have flourished on the Perak rivers and yet to have been completely destroyed. As we shall see, archaeological proof of such destruction is not lacking : ancient bronze images have been brought up by tin dredges or washed out of open-cast mines from beneath great depths of alluvium. The fact that they are found isolated and scattered shows how completely cities have been overwhelmed and their remains perhaps rooted up and disseminated over square miles of river

¹ *Revealing India's Past*, India Society, 1939, pp. 36, 37

basin so that the dredging up of an object at any given spot by no means allows us to conclude that it was the actual site of a temple or city. And, by the irony of fate, we are dependent on finds brought to light by tin-mining, a process which has undoubtedly assisted in their destruction, for any definite data concerning the culture of these lost cities.

There is, however, one portion of Perak to which none of the above mentioned remarks apply: the Matang coastal strip, lying between the Lamut Hills and the sea, and in particular the district of Kuala Selinsing. This area, not being subject to the disturbing conditions mentioned above, has undergone little alteration during historical times.

PERAK : BUDDHIST BRONZES FROM TIN-MINES.

A total of six Buddhist bronzes are known to have been brought to light by mining operations in Perak, and in addition there must have been others which have not been reported or published. Though some of these six bronzes were discovered many years ago, and have been published in various places, it may be as well to include brief references to them in the following list:—

A. *Early Hinayāna Bronzes, (Vth—VIIth centuries A.D.)*

1. Bronze figure of Buddha, height 18", dredged up at Pengkalen near Ipoh in the Kinta valley in 1931. The image was presented to the Perak Museum and first published by Mr. I. H. N. Evans in *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums* Vol. XV part 3, pp. 135, 136, Pl. XLII and XLIII. Having examined the image personally I agree with Professor Coedès' ascription to the Gupta school and would date it from the Vth or VIth century A.D.

2. A bronze throne for a figure of Buddha, height 8½", which must have been seated in the European attitude, dredged up with the bronze Buddha figure at Pengkalen near Ipoh, and published in the same article by Mr. Evans with an illustration (Pl. XLIV). In view of the plainness of the style of the throne I think that it also may be dated not later than the VIth century.

3. Early in the present century, a little lower down the Kinta valley, at Tanjong Rambutan, 60 feet deep in a mine, was discovered a small standing bronze image of the Buddha now in private ownership. I have not had an opportunity of seeing the image itself but from a poor photograph of it published in Wright's *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* (1908), despite its evidently weathered condition, it appears also to be a product of the Gupta school, probably dating from about the VIth century.

B. *Later Mahāyāna Bronzes, (VIIIth—Xth Centuries A.D.)*

4. This fine bronze image (Pl. 79), 31" high, was dredged up in the Anglo Oriental Mining Co.'s mine at Bidor in 1936, and subsequently presented to the Perak Museum, on the suggestion of Mr. H. D. Noone, the Field Ethnographer, where I had an opportunity to examine it. The figure, which is rather plainly ornamented, is immediately identifiable as an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara by reason of the presence of the *dhyānī* Buddha Amitābha in the high head-dress.

The symbols of the eight hands are as follows :—

<i>Right.*</i>	<i>Left.</i>
<i>Akṣamālā</i> (rosary)	<i>Pustaka</i> (book)
<i>Tridaṇḍī</i> (trident)	<i>Pāśa</i> (noose)
arm lost	<i>Padma</i> (lotus)
<i>Varaḍa mudrā</i> (gesture of bestowing boons)	<i>Kalasa</i> (water vessel)

The eight arms and some of the symbols suggest a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara. On referring to Bhattacharya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1924) it appears that the attributes of the form known as Mahāvajranātha Lokeśvara (loc. cit. p. 185, No. 70 and Pl. LX) comes nearest to our Bidor bronze, though its lowest left hand is represented as empty, perhaps in error. If this identification be correct, then the Bidor image's lost arm would have been in *abhaya mudrā*. I understand that an analysis of the metal of the image has shown it to be almost pure copper. (cp. Kedah bronze analyses p. 47).

5. In response to a notice inserted in local newspapers asking for information as to the existence of any Perak antiquities, I received interesting information from an Indian planter, Mr. V. S. Veerasamy of Sungai Siput, Perak, concerning two bronze images that had been found in open-cast tin-mines in the vicinity. The first one was in the possession of an Indian merchant living in Sungai Siput, who showed it to me and said that it had been found in 1908 at a depth of about 20' in the Hup Hin Kongs's mine on the east side of the main road, near the 17th milestone. When originally found, he said, the image was with a pottery jar which also contained some gold ornaments.

Apparently the Perak Museum had been allowed to photograph it and this photograph, as it has not previously been published, is reproduced here (Pl. 80). The image is a standing one 11" high, the pedestal, backing and image having been cast separately. The small image of Amitābha in the head-dress indicates that the figure represents

Avalokiteśvara, this time in a four-armed form. The upper right hand holds the *akṣamālā*, the lower right hand is in *varada mudrā*, while the upper left hand holds the *kalasa* and the lower left hand must have held the stalk of the lotus of which a remnant of the flower is visible on the left shoulder. These symbols enable us without difficulty to identify the form of Avalokiteśvara represented as Jaṭāmukuta Lokeśvara.¹

6. The second image of which Mr. Veerasamy told us, had been found in the same mine, but on the west side of the road, as recently as February 1938, that is to say only about three months before our visit to Sungai Siput. On visiting the mine I was shown the place from where the image had been washed out from beneath about 20' of alluvium, and was told that nothing else of interest had been found with it. Unfortunately the image had already been sent to India, but Mr. Veerasamy was able to produce for me photographs which had been taken prior to its despatch. In the photograph (Pl. 81) it is shown garlanded by the local Indians who mistook it for an image of Viṣṇu.

The eight-armed image, of which the height appears to be about 9", represents a Bodhisattva seated in *lalitāsana*. There is a small figure of Amitābha in the head-dress, but owing to bad lighting it has not been possible to make out in the photograph all the symbols so that no attempt is made here to identify the form of Avalokiteśvara the image is intended to represent. So far as can be distinguished the symbols appear to be as follows:—

Right.

Akṣamālā (rosary)
Dhanu (bow) ?
Kartri (knife)
Varada mudrā.

Left.

A mudrā ?
Danda (staff) or a broken
aṅkuṣa (goad)
Kalasa
padma

PERAK : BRUAS.

The earlier or Blagden recension of the *Malay Annals* tells us of a city of pre-Malacca age named "Gangga Nagara" (=Gaṅga Nagara) which was "on a hill steep from the front view but low from the back; its fort still exists in the Dindings the other side (*i.e.* North) of the Perak"². The later recension of 1612 A.D.³ scarcely differs from the above in this matter.

¹Bhattacharya, p. 178 No. 12 and Pl. XLV.

²Edition of Sir R. O. Winstedt in *J.R.A.S.M.B.*, Vol. XVI, Pt. III Dec. 1938, p. 18.

³*loc. cit.* p. 1.

The Malays of the Bruas district are certainly quite familiar with what they believe to be the site of an old city and readily recounted stories of its former size ("it took a cat three months to do the circuit of the roofs"). Apparently they accept the identification with the Gaṅga Nagara of the *Malay Annals*, but probably this is merely a result of suggestions that have been made to them in recent years by visiting literati. At any rate Colonel Low records of the local enquiries he made here a hundred years ago as follows "The people are very illiterate, and I could not, when there, get from either the Raja or his subjects any account either oral or written of the ancient state of their country"¹. They pointed out to me the *kota* (fort) with its adjoining Mohammedan graveyard as the site of the ancient city, but they had no idea that the city was on any neighbouring hill as suggested by the *Malay Annals*.

Though a preliminary inspection did not appear promising, I determined to carry out trial excavations in order that the matter might be definitely settled either one way or the other, at least in the minds of those susceptible to scientific proof. The *kota*, a small enclosure about 80 yards square, was surrounded by low mounds except on the side on which it abutted a little stream. Down to a depth of 2' below the present surface, finds of blue and white XVth and XVIth century Ming porcelain fragments were found. Below the 2' level was natural undisturbed soil.

I turned next to the land, now under rubber, adjoining the *kota*, on part of which the Mohammedan grave yard is situated. This land is covered with hillocks on a few of which stood the Mohammedan grave stones. I had a large number of trial trenches dug in various places throughout this area. The results showed the hillocks to be natural and no sign of ancient occupation was revealed anywhere in the area.

I then reminded the local people that according to the *Malay Annals* the city of Gaṅga Nagara was built on a hill, steep on one side and gently sloping on the other. Their politeness and desire to please rose to the occasion and accordingly I was led to a neighbouring hill. But on making the ascent I ascertained that it was steep in every direction and, as I had rather expected, there had never been any ancient occupation on its small summit. In fact the local topography did not agree with that suggested by the *Malay Annals*.

I found no local confirmation for the statement in Winstedt and Wilkinson's *History of Perak* (p. 7) that "formerly, Malays say, little 'Buddhas' were picked up about the fort".

¹*Kedah Annals*, p. 86.

PERAK : KUALA SELINSING.

This village site, situated in the mangrove swamps on the coast of the Matang district of Perak, north-west of Port Weld, is well known by reason of the extensive investigations carried out there by Mr. I. H. N. Evans¹. My own investigations there were subsequently undertaken, not because there seemed much hope of adding anything of importance to Mr. Evans' extensive list of finds, but because it seemed that a further examination might serve to check the correctness or otherwise of Mr. Evans' interpretations of those facts. While many of Mr. Evans' deductions² seemed entirely justified, it was difficult to believe that the inhabitants of a village in such a swampy situation, living in pile built houses and burying their dead in canoes, were "almost certainly Hindus by religion" a statement which, when taken in conjunction with acceptance of the earliest dating that had been ascribed to the so-called "Pallava seal" found by Mr. Evans, not unnaturally led to the village being referred to by later writers as an early Indian settlement or trading post. Obviously it was of the greatest interest to us to probe this question more deeply.

After examining Mr. Evans' "island" of deposits in the mangrove swamps at Tanjong Rawa, we carried out an exploration of the district which led to the finding of three further "islands" about half a mile away situated some distance up the Selinsing creek and differing from Mr. Evans' "island" by reason of their being protected from marine erosion. Here, as my excavations subsequently showed, a depth of nine feet of deposit corresponded roughly to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet on Mr. Evans' "island" owing to the fact that there the continuous action of the sea, forcing itself into the stratified deposits of shell and humus, had gradually washed out the latter, which went to the formation of the extensive mud flats bordering the foreshore in front of the "island". As a result of this process, not only had the strata of shell deposits tended to collapse upon each other, but objects from one stratum, following the law of gravity, had tended to become dislodged by the percolating sea water and to find their way through gaps and crannies to the strata beneath them, until in the end the whole deposit became inextricably mixed.

It luckily so happened, however, that the condition of Mr. Evans' "island" had no very serious effects on the results of his excavations, as I found after digging a number of trial trenches in various places on the newly discovered "islands" and carrying out the careful excavation of a small block (Pl. 83) selected particularly on account of the well-marked natural stratification of the deposits. It then became evident that, apart from the presence in the upper layers of rather more complicated designs in pottery, and mammalian bones indicating improved diet, while

¹*Journal F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XII, part V, 1928; Vol. XII, part VII, 1929 and Vol. XV, part 3, 1932.

²*Journal F.M.S. Museums* Vol. XV, part 3, pp. 81-84.

beads other than pierced vertebrae were absent from the very lowest layers, the same culture had persisted from the foundation of the village until its extinction.

Definite information on this point was the main positive result of our excavations for in the matter of finds our "islands" could not be compared with Mr. Evans' "island" where, when he first visited, it, he was able to reap the benefit of the rich harvest of beads and other objects that had in the course of hundreds of years been washed out from the deposits and then thrown up on the shore again.

Two of the most important objects found by Mr. Evans, which he considers to be evidence that the people were Hindus, were the so-called "Pallava seal" and an interesting gold ring. In a learned study of the inscription on the seal¹, Dr. B. C. Chhabra points out that it contains two mistakes, the first of which is the writing of *śri* for *śrī*, an error that he says "may be ascribed to the engraver, who has put a simple curve that usually marks a medial *i* (short) whereas he ought to have cut a spiral to indicate the *ī* (long)". It is indeed difficult to imagine that a mistake of spelling such a common word as *śrī* is the work of a Hindu scribe and so we are led to the conclusion that the engraver, however skilled a craftsman he might have been, was an illiterate copyist. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the period from which the seal dates,² as one would expect with an inscription of so few letters. In any case such an isolated small object cannot be relied on for dating the site where it is found.

The second object, apparently of Indian affinity, is a gold ring bearing in relief a human figure riding on a bird, which at first sight suggests Viṣṇu mounted on Garuda; but on closer examination one sees that the attributes of Viṣṇu are lacking and that there are other details unknown in Hindu iconography. Various scholars suggested that the object dated either from the Majapahit period, on the one hand, when Indonesians had largely lost their understanding of Hindu iconography, or on the other hand, that it dated from a very early period when Hindu influence had not as yet been fully absorbed by the people. Thus neither the ring nor the seal afford us any definite evidence that the people who made them, skilled craftsmen as they were, were either Hindus or at all deeply versed in Indian culture. Moreover, after all the excavation and exploration that has now been carried out in the Kuala Selinsing neighbourhood not one single object appertaining to Hindu ritual has been discovered.

While I am not disposed to see in the similarity of some of the simple types of pottery decoration to those of South India more than a superficial resemblance originating independently, I had at first been inclined to suppose that the common varieties of coloured glass beads, being identical in type with those found in

¹J.G.I.S. Vol. II. p. 72.

²loc. cit.

South India from the VIIth century onwards, might betoken contact with India, perhaps in connection with Indian cultural expansion. One cannot of course, at any period, exclude contact more or less direct from across the Bay of Bengal; and some of the more complicated eye beads and the stone beads may well be imitations of examples that had found their way to Kuala Selinsing from India or further west. But with regard to the common types of beads much comparative evidence has accumulated to show that they are of Indonesian, perhaps ultimately Far Eastern origin¹ and some of them are known from sites in Java, Sumatra and the Philippines² at a much earlier period than in India where they are not known prior to the VIIth century, beads found at earlier sites being of different type.³ All the available evidence therefore suggests that the bead traffic was from east to west along the main sea route through the Straits of Malacca to South India (the fact that they are not found in North India is significant) and ultimately to Rhodesia. En route, in the neighbourhood of large cities or ports, the Indonesians, being born craftsmen, assimilated the technique and set up factories for making beads and other small objects, thus enabling the city, which afforded the villagers protection, to capture some of the trade. The probable identity of the city which protected Kuala Selinsing and enabled its craftsmen to carry on their gentle toil, will be discussed later.

As to dating, the finding of Sung celadon on Mr. Evans' "island" suggests that the settlement continued at least until the XIIth century. I have found the Kuala Selinsing common glass bead types in profusion at U T'ông in Central Siam, a city which is believed to have been abandoned in the XIVth century, though it is not of course certain that the U T'ông beads actually came from Kuala Selinsing. As to a lower limit for the settlement, the material from the site itself provides no certain data, but Professor Otley Beyer, on the grounds of comparison with the similar culture found in the Philippines, considered about VIth century A.D. as probable.⁴

PERAK : SLAB GRAVES.

Though the excavation of the Perak slab graves is the work of others⁵ I took advantage of the opportunity of examining the material in the Raffles and Perak Museums. A comparison with the Deccan and South Indian slab graves¹ and the pottery cists in the Madras Museum, suggests that if there is a common ancestry with the Perak graves it must be remote. Moreover the

¹C. G. Seligman and H. C. Beck *Far Eastern Glass, Some Western Origins* in Bulletin No. 10 of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1938 pp. 57, 58.

²*Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XII, pp. 191, 192; *Ann. Bibl. Indian Arch.* 1932, p. 44.

³*Man*, Vol. XXX, No. 10 Oct. 1930, pp. 166-173.

⁴*Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XII, pp. 191, 192.

⁵I. H. N. Evans, *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XII, 1928 and Vol. XV, 1931; H.D. Collings, "Recent Finds of Iron Age Sites in Southern Perak and Selangor", in *Bulletin of Raffles Museum*, Series B, Vol. I, No. 2, 1937.

socketed iron implements associated with the Perak slab graves and found also in Pahang and Selangor, are unknown in India. Nor have these implements been found in connection with any Indian sites in Kedah and no slab graves have been reported from there either. The same applies to Siam. On the other hand the implements have been found at iron age sites in the Philippines where slab graves of Perak type are also found²; and Gaspardone³ stresses the resemblance of a slab grave excavated at Xuanloc, Annam, to the Perak graves and suggests relationship to Far Eastern forms. Though accurate dating evidence is lacking, one feels inclined therefore to connect the Perak graves with an Indonesian culture, especially now that numerous glass beads of Kuala Selinsing type have been found in them. Moreover the resemblance to the boat burials at Kuala Selinsing is perhaps more than superficial, and at the latter site it will be remembered that the remains included skeletons of Indonesians as well as negritos.

JOHORE : GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS.

Though it had not formed part of our original plan, the opportunity to carry out investigations in Johore was welcomed as it was felt that it would be most desirable to obtain more exact data concerning the part played by Johore in Indian colonization. It was felt that Johore's geographical position certainly suggested that the historical possibilities of this archaeologically unexplored territory merited practical investigation, more particularly as the author of a recent interesting article which gives much food for thought⁴ had proposed to locate Lo-yue and Kaḍāram (San-fots'i) on tributaries of the Johore river, although of the former it may be said at once that, as pointed out by Pelliot⁵, though the Lo-yue kingdom evidently included the territory of Johore, there is no evidence that its capital was in Johore.

There were also certain local indications of considerable interest. At the time of my visit to Johore Mr. G. B. Gardner had already made known his interesting finds suggestive of very far flung trading relations of the Johore river with the West at an early period, to which I shall again refer in due course. Finally there was the belief, deeply rooted in interested Johore circles, in the existence of a certain Black Stone Fort (Kota Batu Hitam) dating from the pre-Malacca period, which, according to the 1612 A.D. edition of the *Malay Annals*, was situated up the Johore river. It seemed to me that this belief in the existence of such a site differed somewhat from the usual products of the unlettered imagination which I find are most frequently offered as a sop to archaeologists in districts where in fact no ancient

¹Man, Vol. XXX, No. 10, Oct. 1930.

²Journal of the F.M.S. Museums, Vol. XII, 1929, pp. 189, 190.

³J.G.I.S. Vol. III, 1937, pp. 26-35.

⁴J. L. Moens, *Civijaya Yāva en Katāha* in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- en Volkenkunde* Deel LXXVII, pt. 3, p. 470.

⁵Deux Itinéraires, BEFEO, 1904, p. 232.

remains are known to the inhabitants. I hoped therefore it might be possible to find on what basis of fact or legend the claim rested.

The first thing to do, as with Kedah and Perak, was to study the topography with a view to ascertaining its suitability or otherwise for early Indian settlement. Exploratory journeys very soon made it evident to me that the Johore River, below Panchor at any rate, and its great offshoot the Sungai Lebam, could from this point of view scarcely be regarded as true rivers but were really only arms of the sea. The Johore River has frequently been described as an excellent anchorage and so no doubt it is, but, as we have seen, that condition was not sufficient in itself to enable early Indians to found a colony. A *sine qua non* for that development was the existence of sufficient flat land on which to grow grain. These "rivers" however are everywhere bordered with the low hills and undulating country characteristic of the high level alluvium tracts of South Johore. Johor Lama scarcely affords room for the building of a town, and certainly there is no room for padi growing in the vicinity. Kota Tinggi is little better and higher upstream the country does not improve and becomes increasingly far from the sea. The same general conditions apply to the Sungai Seluyat, the tributary on which Moens seeks to place Lo-yue. As to the Sungai Kedaru, a tributary of the Sungai Papan which flows into the Lebam, on which Moens proposes to locate the great city of Kaḍāram, I found it to be merely a narrow channel through brackish swamps, barely navigable by sampan.

Despite the unprepossessing appearance of the country, many exploratory journeys were carried out by ourselves and our Malay assistant on these rivers. In those extensive tracts which have been cleared of jungle and are planted with rubber, and which were no less likely to have been inhabited in ancient times than wilder tracts of river bank, it was easy to carry out a personal search and also to make enquiries for signs of ancient remains which would, if they had existed, have been known on these estates as certainly as was the case in Kedah. The information obtained however was always negative. In the jungle tracts one could do no more than institute enquiries among the inhabitants of the few and small villages that are, even at the present day, able to eke out only a scanty livelihood in this region. Small preliminary payments, with the offer of substantial rewards in case of finds being made, induced many of the villagers to undertake jungle searches but without success. I was particularly impressed by the fact that poor woodcutters far up the Sungai Seluyat were well aware of the existence of Mohammedan graves in the jungle there and would have been likely to have known of any other reasonably noticeable remains.

We now come to the upper reaches of the Johore River, particularly its tributary the Sungai Lenggiu, far up which the mysterious Black Stone Fort is locally supposed to be situated.

In view of the absurdity of locating a city in a practically uninhabitable region, many miles up a stream navigable only by sampans, far from the reach of sea going trading ships, I had no intention of adding my name to those of the select and optimistic few who had set out in search for this elusive phantom, unless some definite information on which to base a plan of campaign could be obtained. Accordingly during my stay of four months in Johore, every effort was made to obtain such information. I was personally present when the headman of all the scattered Proto-Malays in the Lenggiu district—the only people able to support life in this desolate region at the present day—was carefully interlocated on the subject one day when he visited Kota Tinggi. He was quite clear and definite on the subject, admitting that, while the Proto-Malays had an extensive knowledge of the jungle which they continually had to traverse in search of jungle produce, the Black Stone Fort story was only known down river at Kota Tinggi. I was entirely satisfied with the genuineness of this man's statement. Moreover, as will be shown in Part II, the fact that the 1612 edition of the *Malay Annals* can no longer be regarded as affording reliable evidence on the location of the Black Stone Fort may well incline critical minds to an alternative solution of the problem which I shall there propose.

It would be tedious to enter into details over the local enquiries which were directed towards probing unlikely stories concerning the existence of ancient remains on the remote headwaters of the Sungai Madek, a tributary of the Endau. The east coast of Johore is swampy and unlikely to have attracted Indian colonists while its river mouths are exposed to the full force of the north-east monsoon, a condition which undoubtedly has much to do with the striking fact that on the whole Malayan coast from Patani to Cape Rumenia not one single chance find of an Indian antiquity is known to have ever been made. On the west coast of Johore, enquiries in the Muar valley produced negative results. This is at first sight surprising for there is no reason why the environment should have been unsuitable for a small Indian settlement. While it is impossible to be certain such a one never existed, it is perhaps not very likely, for the geographical position of the Sungai Muar offers no particular advantages, such as those which had already been offered to the colonists arriving at the river valleys of Kedah and Perak. South of Perak, too, piracy may well have been a decisive factor.

Since one is not readily convinced by negative evidence, and the claims made for the Johore River render it necessary to leave as little room for doubt as possible, there is one final consideration which appears conclusive in the case of this river. In Perak, and to a much less extent in Kedah, short rapid rivers flowing from great mountain masses have damaged ancient remains by changing their courses or completely overwhelming the remains with allu-

vium. In Perak intensive tin-mining has accentuated this action. On the other hand in Johore conditions are entirely different. The effect of such little tin mining as there is is negligible and the Johore River draws its waters largely from a vast expanse of low or slightly elevated land, Gunong Blumut being too remote to affect this essentially sluggish stream whose waters are tidal far above Kota Tinggi. The river, whose volume of water has been insufficient to erode out more than a narrow passage through the hills of high level alluvium and thus could not provide a wide valley attractive to settlers, incidentally brought down comparatively little deposit in the course of the ages. In the last few thousand years the appearance of the river must have been practically static and the effect it would have produced on any ancient remains on its banks negligible. Thus, whereas an ancient city on a Perak river could have been overwhelmed without leaving a trace on the surface, the ruins of a city on the Johore or its tributaries would have remained undisturbed. Is it then for one moment imaginable that the ruined temples of Kaḍāram, a great city which flourished certainly as late as the XIIth century A.D., could have remained unknown if they had stood anywhere near the quiet waters of the Johore?

JOHORE : KOTA TINGGI.

It was at Kota Tinggi, amongst other sites, that Mr. G. B. Gardner had collected quantities of beads and ceramic fragments. The beads, I understand, had been submitted to the examination of that leading authority Mr. H. C. Beck, on whose report Mr. Gardner's communication to the *J.R.A.S.*¹ is presumably based. "Of the 600 or so beads," writes Mr. Gardner "about 20 per cent were classed as belonging to the Roman Empire. . . . the term Roman is used in much the same was as in Egypt, and may mean dating from any time in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era." In the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm² Mr. Beck figures a Roman bead from Cumae and one from Johore side by side, noting that they are identical in appearance and there is little difference in their specific gravity. These Roman beads from Johore are important because of the high ratio they bear to the total number of beads found by Mr. Gardner; they are much more important than the more ancient but solitary Hittite bead and the two Phoenician beads, also found there by Mr. Gardner, because these latter are more likely to have been long in existence before they reached Johore. For the history of this region indeed they are valueless.

Mr. Gardner also found about 80 "early Indian stone beads" (*i.e.* about 7.5 per cent of the total), the remainder (*i.e.* over 70 per cent) being "mostly of crude glass of no clearly assignable origin, either Arabic or later European." While the majority

¹July, 1937, pp. 467-470.

²Bulletin No. 10, 1938, Fig. 1.

appear to be somewhat doubtful as to date or origin, great interest attaches to the 20 per cent identified as Roman because their numbers are sufficiently great to suggest that they were brought to Johore soon after manufacture.

In addition to much Ming blue and white porcelain, Mr. Gardner also found quantities of potsherds decorated with stamped formal designs and in some cases showing traces of glaze.

On carrying out excavations at Kota Tinggi I found that the deposits were completely unstratified and mixed. After several trial trenches had been dug, two blocks were selected for careful excavation in artificial layers of 6" each. The deposits varied in depth from 2' 6" to over 4', and everywhere the stamped pottery was found mixed with Ming blue and white. The pottery never exceeded 20 per cent of the blue and white and was often much less. Owing to its fragile nature it was found only in small fragments as compared with the much larger pieces of Ming. No Chinese porcelain dating from an earlier period than the Ming was found, and a number of Chinese coins of various dates must of course be excluded as being of no datable value.

A comparatively small number of beads were found in each layer and these were mostly common Kuala Selinsing glass types which are likely to have been of Indonesian origin. Owing to the lengthy period during which they continued to be made, it would be difficult to decide whether they were very early or had reached Johore as late as Ming times. None of the black and white Roman beads were found in the excavations though the beads brought for sale by the villagers, who had picked them up superficially after heavy rain, included a good number of these Roman types (Pl. 84) and a few Kuala Selinsing styles.

The presence of such a large percentage of Roman beads, which I have never found in any of my other excavations in Malaya or Siam, suggests a period of occupation of much greater antiquity than that indicated by the Ming porcelain. The unchanging nature of the Johore River, with its scanty burden of alluvium and absence of flooding, make this one of the few localities in Malaya where such ancient remains might be expected to lie undisturbed where they were deposited, practically at present day ground level. The fact that the stamped pottery is everywhere found mixed with Ming porcelain does not militate against the greater antiquity of the former, when one realizes that Kota Tinggi and Johore Lama are two of the very few sites on the banks of the Johore River affording a suitable foothold for even a small trading settlement.

Prima facie evidence in support of the antiquity of the Johore stamped pottery is provided by its close resemblance to the types which Prof. O. Janse of the École Française d'Extrême Orient excavated at Han period kilns in the province of Than-hoa, Annam, and described in two articles in the *Illustrated London*

News (25 Dec., 1937 and 12 July, 1938). In Plates 84 and 85 I show a few designs from the Kota Tinggi Pottery which most resemble some of those illustrated by Prof. Janse in the second of his two articles. I do not however suggest for one moment that the Johore pottery is Chinese, for there is strong evidence to the contrary. Local variation between many of the types found at Kota Tinggi and Johor Lama suggests local manufacture, while potsherds stamped with somewhat similar lotus designs were found by me at Kedah Site 28, and the stamped herring-bone design common at both Johore sites is also characteristic of modern Perlis pottery. This in itself is almost enough to suggest that the Johore pottery was made by local Indonesians, and indeed any theory that it is of Chinese manufacture cannot be sustained. While the pottery is obviously of too fragile a nature for it to have been suitable for export from China, absence of all other signs of an early Chinese culture having existed in Johore renders it impossible to suppose that the ware is the product of Han period Chinese potters resident in Malaya. Finally the chemical laboratory provides evidence against the Chinese origin of this pottery: Mr. H. C. Beck, in his *Far Eastern Glass, Some Western Origins*, has accumulated a considerable body of evidence pointing to the conclusion that the presence of more than a trace of barium or lead in ancient Chinese glass indicates that it dates from the Han period, since lead glass was not again made in China until comparatively modern times. Now at Kota Tinggi a small proportion of the stamped pottery was coated with a thin yellowish glaze and tests carried out for me by the Imperial Institute failed to detect the presence of barium or lead.

That the Johore stamped pottery was made by Indonesians is a conclusion which fits in well with the fact, emphasized by Prof. Janse in the first of the above mentioned articles, that the Chinese potters of the Han period did not hesitate to make use of Indonesian decorative motives. This is also borne out by a study of the Han period bronze drums, which are probably Indonesian rather than Chinese, since, while they have been found in South China, Indochina, Malaya and the Archipelago, they are unknown in North China. Some of those in the Field Museum, Chicago, U.S.A., from Ch'engt'u, Szechuan, are decorated with many of the designs characteristic of the Johore pottery.

With regard to the Ming blue and white so common at Kota Tinggi the great majority, plus a few fragments of Ming celadon, were found to date from the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. A few pieces were found that seem without doubt to date from the early part of the XVth century (Pl. 86, 87). Now it is well known that XVth century Mohammedan graves exist at Sayong Pinang, higher up the Johore River and it is not surprising therefore to find evidence that Kota Tinggi was occupied by Malays before the fall of Malacca. The rectangular enclosure of Kota Tinggi, being more in accordance with Hindu principles, suggests indeed that

it is much older than Sayong Pinang or Johor Lama of which the style of the fortifications betrays Islamic influences. In view of these considerations it seems not improbable that Kota Tinggi may have existed in the XIVth century as Ujong Medini=Ujong Tanah of the Javanese *Nāgara-Kṛtāgama* and the Ujong Tanah of the Siamese *Kaṭa Māṇḍirapālo*. But one should not press the identification, for the very name "Land's End" scarcely suggests an important settlement but rather sounds as if it were merely applied to a territory mainly notable, perhaps notorious, as a landmark to sailors.

I observed that the bricks used for bordering some of the Mohammedan graves at Makam Sultan within the Kota Tinggi enclosure had a breadth of about 8" whereas those used for bordering graves at Makam Tauhid just down stream from the *kota*, were only about 5½" broad. I was interested to know where these broader bricks had been obtained and eventually we located a low mound on the river bank within the *kota* and not far from Makam Sultan.

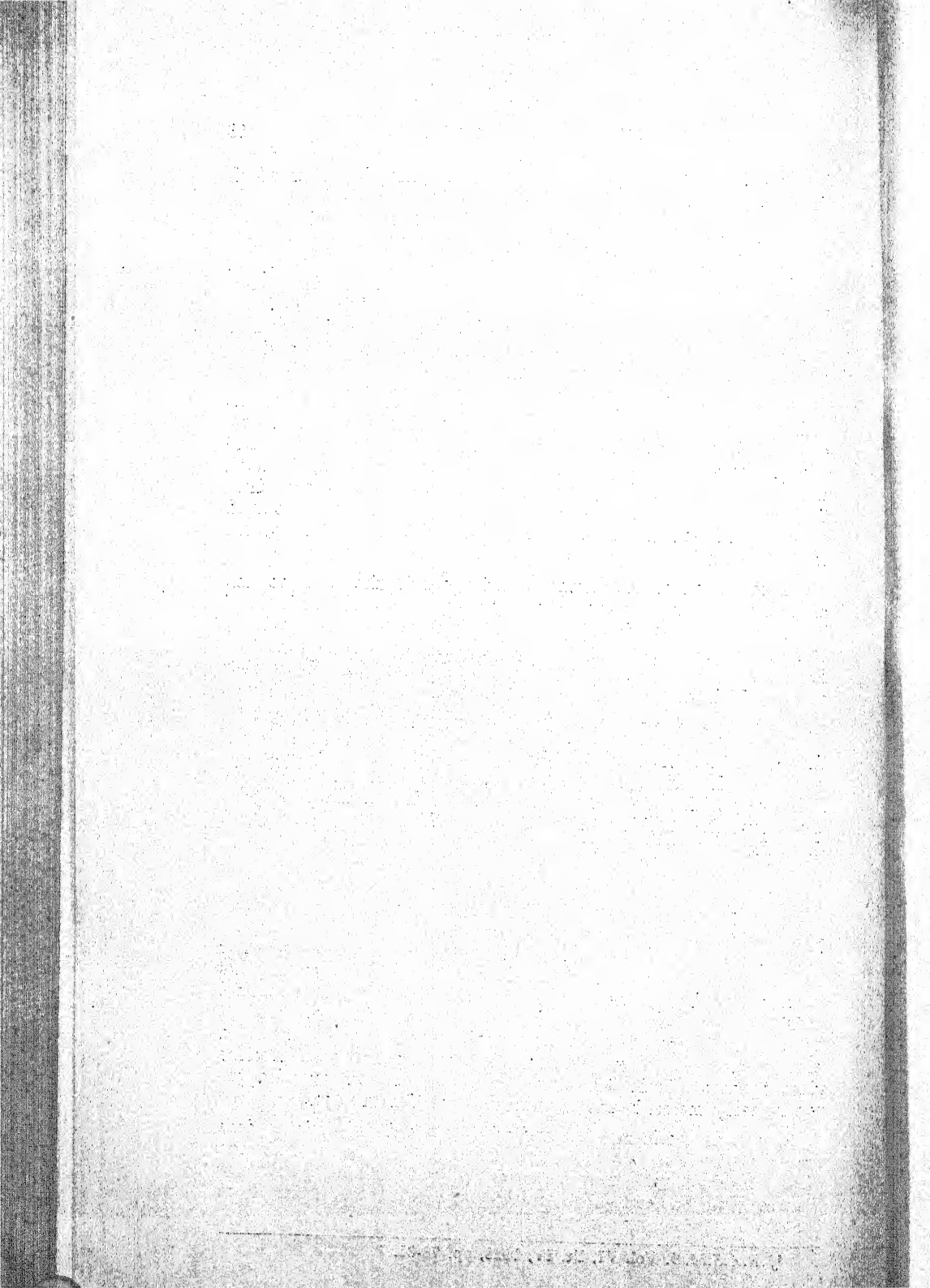
Excavation of the mound brought to light the lower portion of a small regularly oriented rectangular brick building built of bricks bound by earth mortar and each measuring about 10½" x 8" x 3" (Fig. 15 and Pl. 88, 89). In the interior corners were found traces of brick built sockets for the bases of the timber pillars which had evidently supported the roof. No tiles were found, or any other objects of interest. It is therefore difficult to speak with any degree of certainty as to the age and purpose of the building. There appears however, to be considerable resemblance to the brick structures excavated by Dr. W. Linehan in Pahang¹, which may be the remains of Buddhist or Hindu temples of perhaps the XIVth century A.D., and there is a possibility that the Johore remains are of like age and function.

JOHORE : JOHOR LAMA.

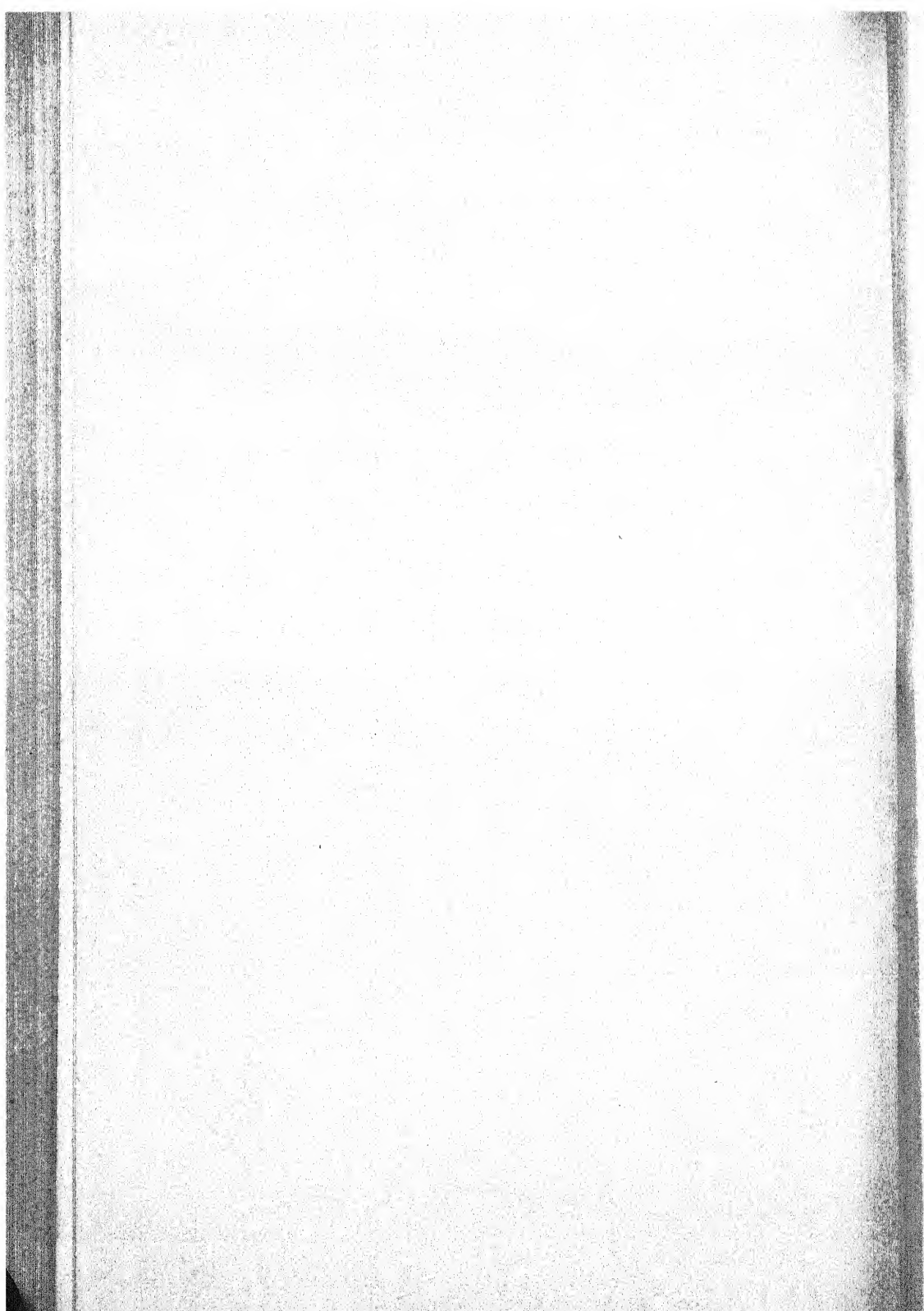
At Johor Lama the deposits seldom exceeded 18" in depth and the excavation of trial trenches in various places and a fairly large block not far from the banks of the Sungai Johor Lama was undertaken. As already stated, the pottery fragments stamped with formal designs were, as in Kota Tinggi, found mixed with Ming blue and white. While the Malay villagers were not apparently aware of the existence of beads at Johor Lama and brought us none, a few were found in the excavations. Besides glass beads of Kuala Selinsing type these included several apparently early melon beads, similar to Kota Tinggi types.

None of the Ming blue and white seemed definitely to date from earlier than the sixteenth century. The only other find of any interest, picked up superficially, was the face of a bronze Siamese Buddha head of the Auyth'ya style which might date from the XVth century or considerably later.

¹J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. VI, Pt. IV, 1928, pp. 78-81.



PART II.
HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.



PART II : HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

In this section I propose to discuss as succinctly as possible some of the broader historical deductions which I think may legitimately be drawn from the new facts that have become available as a result of our Malayan explorations.

As a convenient means of classification, at the same time avoiding water-tight compartments, I propose to deal with the new data under the headings of the Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion as originally proposed and defined by me in *Indian Art and Letters* Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 90-96.

First Wave (1st to IIIrd centuries A.D.)

Bearing on this early period of Indian expansion, in which trade rather than settlement seems still to have been the primary object of the voyagers to the Malay Peninsula, we have the valuable geographical data accumulated by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. The destruction caused by river erosion and torrential rain in Malaya is such that it seems unlikely that many sites dating back to Ptolemy's time would have had any chance of surviving in the Peninsula, especially as these places were evidently only trading posts and hence potsherds and beads would probably be the only classes of objects likely to be deposited. However, as we have seen, the Johore River does seem to offer sufficiently static conditions for such survival and this coincides with the fact that here it was that Mr. G. B. Gardner made his important discovery of what there seems good reason to believe are Roman beads and early pottery. As Mr. R. Braddell points out, these finds afford strong support for Berthelot's identification of the town of Palanda with Kota Tinggi.

It is when we come to Mr. Braddell's proposed identification¹ of Takola with Kedah (presumably somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Merbok estuary) that I am as yet unable to agree. While it is true that Tākuapa does not seem to offer an entirely satisfactory solution, there are also difficulties about Kedah; In the first place "the bulge of land between the Perak and Bernam Rivers" can hardly be accepted as the promontory succeeding Takola because in Ptolemy's time the bulge probably did not exist. Secondly, there seems little doubt that Takola survived in the XIth century as the Talaitakkolam of the Coḷa inscription of 1030 A.D.² But since the Ilaṅgāsogam of the same inscription has definitely been identified³ with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals*⁴ so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak it is necessary to look for Talaitakkolam elsewhere.

¹J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV, Pt. III, Dec. 1938, p. 35.

²Coedès, BEFEO, Vol. XVIII, Pt. 6 p. 15.

³Loc. Cit. pp. 11, 12.

⁴p. 12.

It is difficult to deduce much from such finds as those at Kota Tinggi except that it was frequented by traders from the West. The carriers of the Roman beads are likely to have been Indians, the merchants from South India who brought their priests with them and about this time began to found actual settlements in the more suitable valleys—amongst which the Johore was probably not numbered. But no traces of such settlements, not even the chance finding of images of the Amaravati style, such as have come to light elsewhere in Greater India, have yet been recorded in Malaya.

Most of the more civilized inhabitants of the Malayan coastal valleys at this early period were probably Indonesians to whom I am inclined to attribute such objects as the bronze drum found by Dr. Linehan in Pahang, and the slab graves of Perak. Though we cannot accurately date these slab graves it seems probable that their Indonesian builders—people akin to the founders of the Kuala Selinsing (Perak) settlement—were already exploiting the gold mines of Selinsing (Pahang) in Ptolemy's time although their activities probably continued for centuries after their territory had passed under the control of Indian settlers. One thing I feel is made clear by the available evidence: the culture of the slab grave builders and of such people as ultimately founded the Kuala Selinsing village is essentially Indonesian, though no doubt the Indonesians did not remain unmodified by their contacts with the Indian settlers and ultimately came to thrive in the Perak region more than elsewhere in the Peninsula as a result of the presence of advanced Indian cities there which afforded them protection.

Second Wave (Circa 300 to circa 550 A.D.)

The archaeological evidence (Sites 1—3, and Low's inscriptions) seems to show that during this period Kedah was strongly Buddhist, Mahāyāna Buddhism flourishing side by side with the Hīnayāna at least during the latter part of the period.¹ As to the political status of Kedah during this early period, as we have no certain evidence of its independent intercourse with China, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was controlled by some more powerful neighbouring state. Unless we accept Moens' views² that Kedah (as Chō-po) was under the rule of Kelantan (identified by him with Ho-lo-tan of the *First Sung Annals*), we may suppose that it was part of the powerful kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu which is generally agreed to have been situated at Ligor¹ and which

¹Now that we have evidence for the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into South-East Asia at such an early period (inscription from Kedah Site 2) we need no longer regard the Mahāyāna Buddhism of VIIth century Sumatra as a result of the Fourth Wave (as I had suggested in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol X, No. 2 p. 15), but may regard it as a product of the Second Wave which continued along local lines in Sumatra as it did in Central Siam, neither of which were apparently much affected by the Third Wave.

²Moens, loc. cit.

in turn was almost certainly under the suzerainty of the Funan Empire. Not only would such an early Kedah-Ligor combination have been in accordance with the state of affairs we find repeated in later centuries, but the overland route from Kedah (now followed by the railway) formed a natural and easy link, intercourse across which at an early date is suggested by the existence not only at Kedah but also at Ligor of very early inscriptions.²

In 414 A.D. the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hien transhipped at Ye-p'o-ti on his way home to China. Moens considers that Ye-p'o-ti must refer to Kedah in view of the probability that Java was unknown at that early date to the Chinese because it was far off the direct sea route to China. He thinks that Fa-hien after landing at Kedah crossed over to Ligor and then took another ship to China. At first sight it would seem that Fa-hien's description of religious conditions in Ye-p'o-ti are contrary to the archaeological evidence from Kedah. He says that in Ye-p'o-ti "various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing while Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning." But, firstly, it is possible that the Brahmans and followers of "various forms of error" have left no archaeological remains, and secondly, it may be that the teachings of Gunavarman, who followed Fa-hien so closely to Chö-p'o (identified by Moens with Kedah), are responsible for some of the Kedah Buddhist remains. We have not therefore sufficient evidence to dismiss on purely archaeological grounds Moens' views on this matter.

The finding of *two* Buddhist images of Gupta style in the valley of the Sungai Kinta, Perak, are evidence that an Indian settlement was established there by about the Vth century A.D. The Kuala Selinsing seal, according to some authorities, would afford evidence of Indian influence in the vicinity at least as early as the VIth century. Is there any possibility of identifying this early Buddhist settlement in the Kinta valley? The Chinese Annals of the Liang and First Sung Dynasty mention a kingdom called Kan-to-li or Kin-to-li situated on an island of the southern sea. It was strongly Buddhist and sent embassies to China in the Vth and VIth centuries. Gerini sought to locate it, on purely phonetic grounds, at Khantuli or Kanturi on the east coast of the Peninsula³, but so far as phonetics go surely the Kinta valley would do equally well. While I shall not press the identification it will appear later that there is other evidence in support of this view.

Third Wave (circa 550—circa 750 A.D.)

The effect produced by the arrival of the Hindu Pallava colonists about the middle of the VIth century is very marked indeed in Kedah. In fact it is largely from a study of the material brought to light at Sites 4 to 9 that we are able to form

¹Luce, *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, pt. 2, pp. 161-169.

²Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Pt. II, p. 55.

³*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 601-604.

a tolerably clear impression of the culture of these Pallava colonists. Indeed it is perhaps only on the west coast of the Peninsula that we can expect to find this culture almost or quite unmodified by local evolution and contact with indigenous culture. Here the Indians were constantly being reinforced by new arrivals from their homeland and were kept in touch with the latest developments there by the arrival of trading vessels. It seems as though Kedah remained remarkably Indian long after local evolution had set in further afield.

The facts illuminating the culture and trading relations of the Pallava colonists of Kedah, which have been set out in Part I, sufficiently speak for themselves so that it is not necessary to discuss them in greater detail here. The remains throw light both on the religious practices of these colonists and also on their architecture and it may be added that they also throw light on the nature of the contemporary Pallava architecture of South India where there has been so much destruction and so little excavation that, apart from the *rathas* of Mahābālipuram, we have little information available. On the other hand the sculpture of the period has almost all disappeared from Kedah, but fortunately the images at Tākuapa¹ enable us partially to repair this deficiency in our knowledge the art of the Pallava colonists.

From Tākuapa and Kedah this Hindu culture was transported overland to C'āiya and Ligor on the east coast, for no doubt the Kedah route was one of the most important of those "other land routes that remain to be investigated" for which I made due reservation in the article in which I originally set forth my views on the part played by overland routes across the Peninsula². Arrived on the east coast, in the fertile region around the Bay of Bandon, subsequent evolution proceeded on lines I discussed in the article just mentioned³, during the period in which sea traffic through the Straits of Malacca seems to have been so much restricted by piracy. New evidence indeed now seems available in support of the view that traffic was so restricted during this period for it is remarkable that not only is there no trace of the Hindu Pallava colonists having passed through the Straits of Malacca and established themselves in the countries beyond, but the early colony established in the Kinta valley of Perak seems to have temporarily lapsed after the VIth century: Not only do we hear nothing of Kin-to-li, if this be the correct identification of that early colony, during the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, but of the four bronze images found in tin-mines in the Kinta valley it may not be without significance that, while two have Gupta characteris-

¹*Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Pl. IV.

²loc. cit. p. 27.

³My views there expressed are further strengthened by H. Manguer's study of Asram Mahā Roṣi (BEFEO, XXXVI, p. 65-95) in which he shows that this Cambodian temple, notwithstanding its markedly Javanese appearance, is not a product of Javanese influence, but derives its origin independently from India.

tics (Second Wave) and two have Pāla characteristics (Fourth Wave), there is no representative of the Pallava Hindu or Third Wave of colonization.

The fragmentary four-armed figure with cylindrical head-dress found on the island of Bangka and recently published¹ affords new support for my views as to the rôle played by the northern part of the Malay Peninsula in the spread of Indian cultural influences, more especially the Third Wave which did not penetrate in unmodified form beyond the Peninsula. The head of this Bangka figure, which probably dates from the VIIth century A.D., combines certain Indian characteristics with a Malay cast of features, and illustrates the process by which Pallava Hindu influences after modification in the Peninsula passed on to Sumatra and Java. However, during the VIIth century, Sumatra still remained predominantly Buddhist under the surviving influence of the Second Wave of Indian cultural expansion.

Moens, in the important article to which I have referred above, having identified Kedah with the Chō-p'o of the First Sung Dynasty, proceeds to identify it with the Chō-p'o or Ho-ling of the T'ang, a view that was favoured by Schlegel and Gerini before him. He does well to raise the subject again, for the generally accepted identification of Chō-p'o and Ho-ling with Java has never been entirely satisfactory, though it will probably be long before the last word is said on the matter. The archaeological evidence bearing on it is too scanty to justify a long discussion here. But in the first place it may be said that if Ho-ling, which was the name used by I-Tsing in the VIIth century, is a corruption of Kalinga, this name may well have been introduced as a result of the immigration of Hindu colonists from the original Kalinga in South India. Now we have no archaeological evidence for such a direct influx into Java in the VIIth century whereas we most certainly have in Kedah. This seems to be a most important point since the postulation of a strong Hindu colony of pronounced Indian type in Java in the VIIth century is against the archaeological evidence.

A further point which is certainly not in opposition to Moens' theory is the conclusion I arrived at on purely archaeological grounds that the capital was moved from Kedah to Perak in the second half of the VIIIth century. It is about that time that all trace of Hindu Pallava influences cease at the Kedah sites and S'iva temples are superseded by Mahāyānist temples which I shall subsequently show are the products of the Fourth Wave of Indian colonization. Yet these later remains do not strike me as being those of a great capital city and we know for certain that in the XIth century Ilaṅgāsogam (=Langkasuka, the city on the Sungai Bujang, Kedah) was a dependant state of the S'ailendra Empire. This change in status may well have taken place about

¹Stutterheim, *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1937 pp. 105-109.

the middle of the VIIIth century, judging from the fact that it is from about this time that date the Mahāyānist images found in tin-mines in the Kinta valley, which I shall subsequently show there is good reason to believe was the centre of the S'ailendra Empire. This fits in quite well with Moens' belief that somewhere about 750 A.D. the capital of Chō-p'o was, in accordance with the statement in the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*, transferred to P'o-lou-kia-sseu which—and in view of the new archaeological evidence I presume Moens would agree—may be identifiable, not with the much later town of Bruas, but with a city which must once have existed in the valley of the Kinta.

While Moens is perhaps a little too ready to apply his theory of the transfer of names not only from India to Greater India, but from one part of Greater India to another, I think that to a limited degree it is logical and in accordance with the movement of Indian culture from West to East. Moreover, as an outstanding example, I think that the transfer of the name Chō-p'o from the Malay Peninsula to Java after the T'ang period is quite natural in view of the fact that Java broke away from the S'ailendra Empire in the IXth century.

Moens believes that the Javanese king Sañjaya (of the Cangal inscription, 732 A.D.), in founding a *linga* temple on Gunong Wukir in memory of one in the Kuñjarakuñjadeśa of his ancestors, was referring not to the original Kuñjarakuñjadeśa in India but to Kedah from which he had recently been driven (*via* Ligor?). On cultural grounds, at any rate, I see no objection to such a migration which would merely offer a concrete instance of the general process of Indian cultural expansion across the Peninsula. We have no lack of *linga* temples in Kedah which could have supplied his model and at Site 8 we have seen that there were nine-chambered reliquaries for royal relics which were evidently the prototypes of the Javanese forms.

Fourth Wave (Circa 750—circa 900 A.D.)

Moens attributes the transfer of the capital of Chō-p'o from Kedah to Perak to its conquest by the Sumatran kingdom of S'rivijaya¹. But I am not satisfied that there ever was such a conquest of the Peninsula, because this view rests mainly on the assumption that the common Indian city-name S'rivijaya mentioned in the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. must necessarily refer to the Sumatran city. In fact the evidence of epigraphy is strongly in favour of distinguishing between a Sumatran state of S'rivijaya on the one hand and a peninsular state of S'rivijaya (modern C'āiya) on the other: For while all the inscriptions of Palembang and Bangka are already in the VIIth century written in Old Malay, the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. is in good Sanskrit. Moreover,

¹I do not discuss here the exact location of the city of S'rivijaya or other ancient cities in Sumatra especially as I think we must await the results of further systematic excavation in Sumatra before we have sufficient data to lead us to satisfactory identifications.

whereas the fragmentary four-armed figure from Bangka, attributable most probably to the VIIth century, shows signs of modification from a more nearly Indian form evolved in the Peninsula, on the other hand we have no evidence of Sumatran sculptural influences in the Malay Peninsula.

The Fourth Wave of Indian influence no doubt came largely from South India, which itself was influenced at this period by Pāla Mahāyānist culture, but also there was direct contact with the Pāla kingdom of Bengal itself as is evidenced by the Nālandā copper plate of about 850 A.D. Below I shall enumerate some individual characteristics of the Kedah and Perak remains of this period which indicate their predominantly Indian nature and which, incidentally, negative any idea that Javanese or Sumatran reflux influence was a powerful factor in the culture of the Peninsula during this period :—

(1) The fragmentary earthenware jar from Site 15 is purely Indian in style.

(2) The inscribed discs found at Site 10 are unlike Javanese foundation deposits.

(3) The bronze casket containing the foundation deposits of Site 16 is of South Indian type.

(4) The miniature weapons contained in this casket, though resembling those depicted on the Borobodur bas-reliefs, are evidently of Indian origin as some of them may be traced to the Ajanta cave paintings. The similar weapons represented on the Borobodur reliefs are therefore also ultimately derived from Indian prototypes.

(5) The miniature *damaru* drum found in the casket is unlike Javanese drums and is essentially South Indian in style.

(6) Sites 15 and 16 are the remains of temples which remind one of some of the buildings represented in miniature on the Borobodur bas-reliefs. Hence they represent a style older than the Borobodur itself and suggest that its builders were influenced by ideas reaching Java *via* the Malay Peninsula.

(7) The dagger hilt found at Site 12, though of a style represented on the Borobodur reliefs, closely resembles the dagger hilt worn by the Mahiṣasura in the Mahiṣasura Maṇḍapam bas-relief, Mahābālipuram, South India.

(8) The Bidor Bodhisattva image, while it somewhat resembles one of the bronze Bodhisattvas found at Palembang¹ is more plainly ornamented than this image and also is more plainly ornamented than contemporary Indo-Javanese images. The facial characteristics of all the Malayan Mahāyānist images, as well as of the bronze Bodhisattvas from C'āi-ya, Peninsular Siam, if not purely Indian are certainly much nearer to Indian prototypes than are the Javanese and Sumatran bronzes.

¹Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Pl. VI, centre.

If we include in our survey the later temples of Kedah we may add two more points:—

(9) The temples are comparatively simple brick sanctuaries devoid of any specialized Javanese characteristics.

(10) The terracotta Ganeśa from Site 19 is quite un-Javanese in the attitude in which it is seated.

Perhaps most decisive of all is the emphatic negative evidence that *nowhere in Kedah, among remains of any period, have any sculptural, architectural or decorative motifs been recovered that are essentially Javanese or Sumatran in character.* The same statement seems to hold good throughout Malaya. In Kelantan of course there is plenty of evidence of Javanese influence in the living culture of the people, but it is late in character and may be attributed to contacts in the Majapahit period.

This lack of archaeological evidence for the spread of Javanese or Sumatran culture to Malaya, during the period when the S'ailendra Empire must have been taking shape and during the period of its greatness, is very impressive when one realizes the distinctive and virile nature of these cultures, which would certainly have been carried to any lands under Javanese or Sumatran sway and could scarcely have avoided detection in any land to which they had been carried. On purely cultural grounds, therefore, I reject any view which seeks to make Java or Sumatra the headquarters of the S'ailendra Empire, while it seems rather unlikely that the S'ailendra dynasty originated from either of these islands.

The S'ailendra Empire.

That the culture of the Malay Peninsula during this period was predominantly of direct derivation from India is indicated by the archaeological evidence discussed above, and we shall see that new evidence is available in support of the contention that the headquarters of the S'ailendra Empire were situated in the Malay Peninsula. There the Mahāyānist founder, who I still think was most probably a recent arrival from India in the VIIIth century, built up his empire at the expense of numerous smaller Hindu states. On the exact location on the Peninsula, however, the new evidence obliges me to modify my original views.

I had previously held that the capital was first established at C'āiya and was later moved to Ligor, both on the east coast of the Peninsula. In his article *A propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur le site de S'rivijaya*¹ M. Coedès' most serious point of criticism of my theory was: "que cette localité, placée dans une position excentrique, au fond d'un cul-de-sac, ait pu être la capitale d'une thalassocratie d'où le Mahārāja exerçait la surveillance et l'exploitation du commerce maritime par les détroits, voilà une

impossibilité géographique qui me paraît suffire à condamner la thèse du Dr. Wales". I fully admit the force of this criticism—which incidentally is equally applicable to Palembang—and in my popular book *Towards Angkor* I added a footnote on page 172 to the effect that the Empire must have controlled the Straits indirectly through Kedah, by which I then meant the Kaḍāram of the Coḷa texts. It was difficult to see more clearly while we still had no data from British Malaya, and the position was necessarily obscured by the very evident importance of Ligor at the close of the S'ailendra period.

Now the evidence supplied by the Perak Mahāyānist bronzes, together with the knowledge, resulting from a study of local geographical conditions, that a great city could have existed as lately as the XIIth or XIIIth century in the Kinta valley and yet have left no noticeable remains owing to the destruction brought about by natural agencies, has removed the difficulty I had experienced in supposing that such obviously important cities as C'āiya and Ligor could have been dependencies situated on the periphery of an empire having its capital so far away as Palembang. A centrally situated capital in the Kinta valley would not only seem more in accordance with the position of C'āiya (Grahi) and Ligor (Tamraliṅga) as dependent states but would fit the essential condition that the capital of the S'ailendra Empire must have been situated in a position whence it could control the Straits. This city in the Kinta valley would then be seen as the first of a line of cities situated on or near the west coast of the Peninsula which have in their time controlled the traffic through the Straits, the later cities being Singapura, Malacca, Penang and Singapore. Moreover the importance of the tin abounding in the Kinta valley, little sought after as it seems to have been by the earliest colonists, once a demand had been set up by the Caliphate metal workers at Baghdad might well have been a determining feature which, coupled with the desire to control the Straits, decided the Mahārāja to establish his capital in the Kinta valley.

Before I marshal the evidence in favour of placing Kaḍāram in the Kinta valley it is necessary to review the reasons for supposing that Kaḍāram (=Tamil Kaṭāha)—rather than Sumatran S'rivijaya—was the capital of the S'ailendra Empire.

R. C. Majumdar has summed up the evidence from the Coḷa inscriptions bearing on this point in the following words: "On examining the Coḷa records it appears that the two kings (Cūḷāmaṇivarman and S'ri-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman of the S'ailendra dynasty) were regarded rather as kings of Kaḍāra (or Kaṭāha) also ruling over S'rivijaya, than kings of S'rivijaya. In all records, save one, they are referred to simply as rulers of Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra. Even in the one exceptional case *viz.* the Lar Lgereiden Grant, the Tamil portion refers to Cūḍāmanivar-

man (=Cūlāmaṇivarman) as king of Kaḍāra, while the Sanskrit portion refers to S'ri-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman as lord of Srivijaya, and extending the suzerainty of Kaṭāha. This last phrase hardly leaves any doubt that the Coḷas regarded them primarily as rulers of Kaṭāha who had extended their suzerainty over S'rivijaya."¹

In accord with this is the evidence of Edrisi (1154 A.D.) who leaves no doubt that the ruler of the Malay Peninsula lived in Kalah² which it is generally agreed to equate with Kaṭāha. Moreover Abu Zayd Hasan (circa 916 A.D.) distinguishes between Zābag, the capital of the Mahārāja, and Sribuza (=S'rivijaya).

In face of all this evidence it seems difficult to deny that Kaḍāram was the capital of the S'ailendra Empire. Moens also accepts the equation Kaḍāram = San-fo-ts'i, the name by which the S'ailendra Empire appears to have been known to the Chinese from 904 A.D., and which must on no account be confused with the Fo-che or Che-li-fo-che (=S'rivijaya) of the earlier texts.³ But after admitting the existence in the IXth century of a kingdom centred in Perak and known to the Arabs as Zābag and corresponding to the Chō-p'o of the *T'ang Annals*, Moens goes completely astray in locating about 890 A.D. the S'ailendra capital Kaḍāram (San-fo-t'si) on the Johore River, the S'ailendras, who Moens believed to be of Javanese origin, having according to him about that time decided to migrate thither from Java. But we can dismiss this improbable theory without hesitation for our Johore explorations leave no room to suppose that such a great city as Kaḍāram, if it had ever existed there, would either have been destroyed by natural forces or that its remains could have escaped detection. It is clear that Moens' theory of the movement of place names is misapplied in this instance and introduces an entirely artificial complication into the story of the rise and fall of the S'ailendra Empire. I prefer to consider that Moens' Chō-p'o (Zābag) of the IXth century, which centred in Perak, is the Kaḍāram (San-fo-t'si) of later centuries, the Chinese retaining the name Chō-p'o for Java after it became independent at the close of the IXth century and thenceforward applying the new name San-fo-t'si (probably corresponding to the Arab Zābag) to the remainder of the Empire and its capital.

I agree with Coedès in equating phonetically the Coḷa names Kaṭāha, Kaḍāram, Kiḍāram with the modern name Kedah⁴ but is it possible to locate Kaḍāram in the modern state of Kedah? Coedès himself felt this difficulty since he had already located the Langkasuka of the *Kedah Annals* (=Ilangāsogam of the Coḷa records =Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-kua) at the base of Kedah Peak,

¹*Suvarṇadvīpa*, p. 208.

²Op. Cit. p. 213.

³Coedès, Loc. Cit.

⁴*BEFEO*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 6, p. 22.

with which localization I cordially agree. Coedès is unable to escape from the difficulty otherwise than by supposing Kaḍāram might have been located elsewhere in Kedah ; but our explorations are conclusive that there is no other possible ancient site of the period in the modern state of Kedah.

I shall now therefore proceed to marshal the evidence in favour of placing Kaḍāram in the Kinta Valley, Perak, where in addition to the two early Hinayānist bronzes, two later bronze Bodhisattvas have also been recovered. I have already tentatively placed the Kan-to-li or Kin-to-li of the *Liang* and *First Sung Annals* in the Kinta Valley. It is now interesting to recall that, as Majumdar points out¹, the *Ming Annals* say that San-fo-t'si was formerly called Kan-da-li. Moreover Majumdar also points out² that the two Chinese forms Kan-to-li and Kin-to-li correspond to the Coḷa variant forms Kaḍāram and Kiḍāram.

The prosperity of Kuala Selinsing with its village industries throughout the S'ailendra period suggests merely that it was probably under the protection of some powerful city in the vicinity. If Chhabra's suggestion³ be not unfounded that the Viṣṇuvarman of the Kuala Selinsing Seal was the same as the S'ailendra Emperor Viṣṇu mentioned on the later face of the Ligor inscription, it would appear likely that it had been made for the ruler of the neighbouring city which would presumably be the residence of the S'ailendra Emperors, i.e. Kaḍāram.

As a source of evidence the story of Raja Suran in the *Malay Annals*, when treated in conjunction with certain practical considerations and a little legitimate scientific imagination, may be of considerably greater historical importance than has hitherto been supposed. In fact no real progress has been made with the elucidation of the legend since Dr. Blagden in 1920 recognized the possibility of its referring to the Coḷa raids of the XIth century. The essential nucleus of the legend according to the 1612 recension of the *Malay Annals* is that Raja Suran, a prince from India, attacked Raja Ganggi Shah Juana, ruler of Gangga Nagara, defeated and killed him and married his sister. The annalist places Gangga Nagara on the River Dinding in Perak. Then follows an account of the attack on another city called Glangkui or Ganggayu whose ruler Raja Chulan was in turn defeated and killed by Raja Suran who this time married the dead ruler's daughter. Glangkui is identified with Johore for it possessed "a fort of black stone up the river Johore". In the earlier Blagden recension however, we find Lenggui instead of Ganggayu and the words *di-hulu Sungai Johor* are omitted⁴ clearly indicating that they are merely a gloss of the 1612 A.D. edition.

¹ *Suvarnadvīpa*, p. 218.

² *Op Cit.* p. 221.

³ *J.A.S.B. Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, Pt. 1, pp. 27, 28.

⁴ *The Malay Annals*, Sir R. O. Winstedt, *J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XVI, pt. III, Dec. 1938, p. 34.

Our exploration and local enquiries have convinced us that no "black stone fort" exists on the Johore River and that no ancient city of the period was situated there. Thus it looks as though we can here actually trace an example of the transference of a legend from one site to another in conjunction with the migration of a people. On their way to Johore the Malacca Malays passed through Pahang. Possibly the natural limestone caves in Pahang which local Malays believed to be a fort and referred to as Kota Gelanggi¹ may be a relic of the passage of the legend through Pahang.

My suggestion is that these legends, which were transported from the west coast of the Peninsula only at a late date, do refer to the Coḷa invasions of the early part of the XIth century, but that in these legends the details of two of Rājendra's most important expeditions are almost inextricably confused.

Nilakanta Sastri is of opinion that it is possible that "the later inscriptions of Rājarāja (who preceded Rājendra) mixed up facts relating to several campaigns"². This might even more probably have happened in the reign of Rājendra, if not in official inscriptions almost certainly in the minds of the people who could hardly be expected to remember distinctly the details of so many campaigns.

In the Tanjore Tamil inscription of 1030 A.D. the details of Rājendra's expedition to Kaḍāram, and other parts of the S'ailendra Empire are set out, beginning and ending with mention of the conquest of Kaḍāram. Shortly before his Kaḍāram campaign Rājendra had undertaken his expedition to the Ganges (the details of which are known from another inscription) but even in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. the Ganges campaign is just mentioned before the details of the Kaḍāram campaign are set out. The two campaigns could thus easily have become confused in the minds of the Malays both as a result of remarks made by the invaders and the stories brought by Indian traders in later and more peaceful times. If this were the case then Gangga-nagara might refer to a city situated on the Ganges, while Suran is clearly a reference to the fact that the Coḷas belonged to a dynasty claiming solar origin, Rājendra indeed in one of his inscriptions being referred to as "the light of the Solar race". Then the conquest of Lenggūi would refer to the next Coḷa expedition, Raja Chulan (whose name has given such trouble to those who supposed Chulan = Coḷa) probably being a Malay corruption of the name of the S'ailendra Emperor Cūḷāmaṇivarman who we know was reigning at the beginning of the XIth century.

¹Cameron, *J.R.A.S.S.B.* No. 9, 1882, p. 153.

²*The Coḷas*, Vol. I, p. 203.

Further comparison of details might account for the origin of the name Johore and supply a clue to the whereabouts of the elusive Black Stone Fort. The following information is extant as to the European spelling of Johore in the XVIIth century: "Jor or Johor indebted for its name to its capital city call'd by some Goer or Goera and Joar or Goar or Gohor..... (call'd in some maps Guar)"¹. It does not seem as though in some of these forms we are so very far from Gaur, on the Ganges, the capital of the Pāla rulers of Bengal. With this possibility in mind I referred to J. H. Ravenshaw's *Gaur: Its Ruins and Inscriptions* (London, 1878) and there culled the somewhat striking information that the old Hindu city had been largely built of *black hornblende*.

While none of these details may individually be pressed too far, cumulatively one is left with an impression that not only can we have little doubt in referring these legends to the Coja exploits, but that their point of origin so far as Malaya is concerned is Perak. It would be difficult to see any reason for this unless Kaḍāram had been situated in Perak, while the fact that the legends are attached to the river Dinding or the neighbourhood of Bruas puts no difficulty in the way of our identification of Kaḍāram with a site in the Kinta valley somewhere near Sungai Siput where two of the Mahāyānist bronzes came to light. In the XIth century, before all the alluvial swamps around the mouths of the Perak and Bernam had come into existence, this site was not so far from the sea and occupied a fine strategic position. With the abandonment of the great city and the accretion of alluvium at the old mouth of the Perak River, the Malays, descendants of the inhabitants of Kaḍāram, no doubt moved by stages down river just as did the Kedah Malays on the Muda. With them they took such memories as they retained of former greatness and of foreign invasions and these memories naturally lingered longest about Bruas, the modest headquarters of the Perak Malays under Malacca rule.

In the light of my identification of Kaḍāram, the capital of the S'ailendra Empire, with a site in Perak, I can now pass on to the consideration of several points concerning the later history of this Empire. In the first place I do not think there is sufficient evidence in support of Coedès' view (followed by Moens) that the capital of the Empire was transferred to Malayu in the last quarter of the XIIth century. Majumdar's interpretation of the facts bearing on the point seems to me at present preferable,² the omission of Malayu from Chau Ju-kua's list of dependencies of San-fots'i more probably merely indicating that Malayu had obtained its independence about the end of the XIIth century. Moreover, as we shall see, there is reason to suppose that Ligor seceded soon

¹Sheelan, *XVIIth century Visitors to the Malay Peninsula*, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, Part II, Aug. 1934, p. 80.

²*Swarnadvīpa*, pp. 195, 196.

after this time, and the breaking up of an empire at its extremities is surely a most natural process. Furthermore, as Majumdar also points out¹, the Ming references to Sumatra as San-fo-ts'i refer only to those parts of that island then under Java rule, which had previously formed part of the San-fo-ts'i empire.

I may take the opportunity of suggesting here that another of San-fo-ts'i's dependencies, one of those to which Chau Ju-kua devotes a separate description, namely Fo-lo-an, may perhaps be identified with Bidor where, at any rate in the VIIIth—IXth century, a city seems to have been situated, as is evidenced by the finding of the fine bronze Avalokiteśvara in a tin-mine there. The location and the nature of this find seem to fit well with the following points of Chau Ju-kua's description of Fo-lo-an: It could be reached in four days from Ling-ya-sseu-kia (Langkasuka); it was noted for its ornate Buddhist temple and the possession of two 'Buddhas' *i.e.* Bodhisattvas, the one six-armed, the other four-armed, to which magical powers were attributed; it was one of the two principal ports of South-Eastern Asia frequented by Arab traders, the other being San-fo-ts'i.²

If Malayu had obtained its independence by the end of the XIIth century, the inference is that Palembang, though included in Chau Ju-kua's list of S'ailendra dependencies, must have temporarily obtained its freedom soon afterwards. Now we know that Rājendra Coḷa's conquests included S'rivijaya and other places in Sumatra and there would be nothing remarkable in the XIIIth century ruler of Palembang claiming descent from the Coḷa invader of the XIth century. All we have to do is to distinguish the XIIIth century Palembang State from the VIIth century Palembang State. There is of course no reason why old legends that lingered about Seguntang Hill should not have been absorbed by later history as has evidently occurred here. But, once the distinction between the two states is made, there remains nothing improbable about the founder of the new Palembang State claiming descent, rightfully or not, from the Coḷa Rāja Suran and being the father of the founder of Singapura and the Malacca dynasty. Once this is admitted it is clear that we have no such extensive telescoping of legendary history as Braddell suggests³ and the *Malay Annals* are chronologically right in the order in which they deal with the Coḷa invasion and the foundation of the (new) Palembang State.

Turning now to the condition of the northern portion of the S'ailendra Empire, following the close of the XIIth century, we find evidence that about this time Ligor and Kedah had broken away from the rule of San-fo-ts'i. The C'āiya inscription, dated

¹Op. Cit. pp. 218, 219.

²*Chau Ju-kua*, trans. by Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, pp. 69, 70.

³*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XIV, Part III Dec. 1936, p. 54.

1230 A.D., certainly gives the impression that King Candrabhānu of Ligor was then an independent ruler. Now Mr. F. H. Giles has recently suggested¹ that there is reason to believe that King Rāma K'āmhēng of Sukhot'āi ascended the throne in A.D. 1257 and not A.D. 1277 as thought by many scholars, and that he was the Sukhot'āi king who forced a king of Ligor to obtain the Sihingka Buddha from Ceylon as described in the chronicle of that statue. He thinks that the king of Ligor was probably Candrabhānu and that this expedition to obtain the Sihingka Buddha corresponds to the second of Candrabhānu's attacks upon Ceylon recorded in the Mahāvamsa, probably taking place in A.D. 1271 just before Candrabhānu's death. As Candrabhānu would have required a port on the West coast as a base for his attack on Ceylon, he presumably controlled Langkasuka *i.e.* Kedah. The resemblance between the Sung and provincial Sung Chinese porcelain found at both C'āiya and Kedah suggests thriving overland trade in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries and the remains at Kedah Sites 19-23 suggest prosperity. It evidently regained some of the importance that it had enjoyed as capital of Chō-p'o of the T'ang period (if that be the correct identification) as terminus of an overland route, before the foundation of the S'ailendra Empire re-established the sea route and directed much of the trade to Kādāram. It was probably during Candrabhānu's reign that the Ligor-Kedah combination usurped the power of San-fo-ts'i in the northern part of the Peninsula just as Malayu did in Sumatra. It is during the XIIIth century that this region was known as Jāvaka to the compilers of the Mahāvamsa, and Zābag, the Isle of the Mahārāja, to Ibn Sa'id; while from this time Langkasuka, as is indicated by the Pāṇḍya inscriptions, usurped the name Kādāram from the moribund capital of the S'ailendras, a name which in the form of Kedah is still borne by the modern Malay state.

The condition of affairs prevailing in the Ligor-Kedah region in the XIIIth century is thus precisely that which led me to believe that this region had always been the centre of the Jāvaka or Zābag empire. At the same time Malayu in Sumatra was modelling itself on the old San-fo-ts'i empire and this is a circumstance which, coupled with the early importance of S'rivijaya, may have equally misled others into centring the S'ailendra Empire in Sumatra. Until British Malayan archaeology had received some attention a clearer view was scarcely to be expected.

Later Kedah History.

For the later history of Kedah *i.e.* the period from the close of the XIIIth century until the conversion to Islam in 1474 A.D. I propose to take the bold course of treating some of the more reasonable statements of the *Kedah Annals* as a basis for discussion.

¹The Koh Lak Tradition, J.S.S., Vol. XXX Pt. I, Aug. 1937.

In the *Kedah Annals* seven kings are mentioned by title as reigning in Kedah prior to the conversion to Islam and there is also an interregnum of seven years to be considered. The first of these kings, however, Marong Mahawangsa, may be omitted from consideration as he is evidently merely a legendary adventurer (possibly a memory of the Mahārāja, King of the Mountain), from whom the Kedah kings are supposed ultimately to have derived their origin. That leaves us with six kings, to each of whom, as did Low¹, I propose to allow an average reign of thirty years. With the interregnum of seven years this makes a total of 187 years to be accounted for, a period which, it may be remarked, does not exceed the one for which we might expect the public memory to have been vaguely able to account at the time the *Annals* were committed to writing. Now we fortunately know at any rate one date, the date at which the last king of the six, Phra Ong Mahawangsa, was converted to Islam. That date is 1474 A.D.² Soon after conversion, say two years, he abdicated and "not very long after" that, say another six years, he died. Supposing therefore that his abdication shortened his reign from the average length of thirty years to twenty-four we may date the duration of his reign as from circa 1452 to circa 1476. Working backwards we can then hypothetically establish the reigns of the other five kings and the interregnum as set out in the following table, to which I have appended the relevant points of information supplied by the *Annals* about each reign.

<i>Title of Ruler</i> ³	<i>Proposed dates.</i>	<i>Data Supplied by Kedah Annals.</i>
A.D.		
1. Raja Maha Podisat ..	c. 1295—c. 1325	Ruling at Langkasuka [<i>i.e.</i> Sungai Bujang sites]. Claim to have extended dominion over Ligor, Patani and Perak.
2. Raja Sri Mahawangsa ..	c. 1325—c. 1355	Moves from Langkasuka (Sungai Bujang) to S. Muda, founding Srokam fort. Tributary to Ligor.
3. Raja Maha Podisat ..	c. 1355—c. 1385	Remained at Srokam.
4. Raja Maha Prit Durya (Raja Bersiong) ..	c. 1385—c. 1415	Moves to Kota Aur. Develops "cannibal" characteristics.
Interregnum of seven years.		
5. Raja Pra Ong Maha Podisat ..	c. 1422—c. 1452	Rules at Kota Aur.
6. Phra Ong Mahawangsa ..	c. 1452—c. 1476	Rules at Kota Aur (and built palace on Bukit Meriam). Converted to Islam [in 1474.]

¹*Kedah Annals*, p. 190.

²Winstedt, *Notes on the History of Kedah*, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. 3, p. 166.

³Low's transliteration is here retained though the titles are Siamese (derived from Pali).

We shall now proceed to deal with the relevant statements of the *Kedah Annals* critically and in conjunction with the available archaeological evidence. In the first place can there be any basis of fact in the statement that a Kedah king, of about the period we have dated the first Raja Maha Podisat, extended his rule over Ligor? King Kṛtanagara of East Java, who had in 1275 A.D. conquered Malayu in Sumatra, added Pahang to his dominions about 1286, the old Kādāram (San-fo-ts'i) Empire having completely disintegrated by this time. The fighting which took place on the east coast of Malaya during this time must have affected the authority of Sukhot'āi over Ligor¹, but it was probably not until about 1300 A.D. that Sukhot'āi lost control over the Ligor region. It would therefore be at about this time that Kedah found itself in the unusual position of being independent, while at the same time it was enjoying a period of considerable prosperity. It is not unnatural that it should take advantage of these circumstances to endeavour to increase its dominions; and the fact that the period at which this was possible coincides with the period for which apparently it is claimed by the *Annals* prevents us from rejecting the evidence of the latter without due consideration.

Now it is known that in ancient times the standard Indian kingdom consisted of four principalities situated at the cardinal points of the king's country. This system was adopted in Indianized states, such as Siam, where the four principalities were ruled feudally by the king's sons². It seems evident that the setting up of Raja Maha Podisat's children as rulers of Ligor, Perak and Patani, was an attempt, so far as geographical conditions allowed, to satisfy the ancient precepts of government. Of course to what extent the precepts were actually carried out in practice we cannot tell, but the moment seems to have been propitious at least so far as Ligor and Perak (where anarchy had probably followed the fall of Kādāram) were concerned. By about 1325 A.D. however the Prince of U T'ōng (Central Siam) had established his authority over the four met dominions of Sukhot'āi in the Peninsula, and it is accordingly at this date that I put the termination of Kedah's real or pretended suzerainty over Ligor, the loss of Kedah's independence, abandonment of the city of Langkasuka on the Sungai Bujang and the death or deposition of Raja Maha Podisat.

The move from the Bujang to Srokam as a fact, even though one may discount the reason for it that is given, is plainly recorded in the *Annals* (p. 93) as follows: "He directed his four ministers to collect lime and shells in order to make a fort and ditch, *further down* (*i.e.* to the South) because the river (*i.e.* the Muda) was broad, full and deep, and had an impetuous current. . . . he constructed a temporary small palace at a spot named Srokam".

¹Giles, loc. cit. p. 20.

²Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, London, 1934, pp. 102, 103.

One may permit oneself to imagine that it was at Kampong Batu Lintang (Site 27), while the Malay remnant were fleeing towards the Muda *via* the network of creeks that connect it with the Merbok, that Raja Maha Podisat lost his golden belt and perhaps his life in his haste to escape from the T'ai invaders.

Thenceforward Kedah, as the *Annals* clearly indicate, sent the gold and silver flowers to Ligor who collected them on behalf of her suzerain power Siam. That friction continued between Ligor and Kedah throughout succeeding centuries is probably due to religious and racial causes, which prevented them from working harmoniously together for the promotion of overland trade as they had done for the benefit of both until they had ceased to form part of the S'ailendra Empire. At that time Mahāyānism declined in the Peninsula, and Ligor became a strong centre of Hinayāna Buddhism as a result of contacts with Ceylon and Sukhot'ai, while at the same time an influx of T'ai immigrants began. On the other hand Kedah remained purely Malay and favoured Hinduism and Tantrism, until its conversion to Islam further accentuated the cultural gulf between it and Ligor.

It may be mentioned that while the Javanese empire of Majapahit undoubtedly extended its sway over the east coast of Malaya, to which occurrence the culture of the modern Kelantan Malays is a living witness, there is room to doubt whether claims of the Javanese *Nāgara-Kṛtāgama* to Majapahit suzerainty over Kedah are more than an empty boast. There is certainly no shred of archaeological or cultural evidence of actual occupation of the west coast of the Peninsula by Javanese, though Kedah may of course have thought it wise to acquiesce to Majapahit's nominal suzerainty, perhaps during the reign of Raja Maha Podisat. After 1325 Kedah seems definitely to have been within Siam's "sphere of influence".

It is the archaeological remains found at the sites themselves that provide the decisive evidence in favour of the general accuracy of the chronology above proposed. The quality of the Sung wares at Sites 18-23 indicates that these must have been abandoned soon after 1300 A.D. Site 28 (Srokam) is clearly intermediate in character between the latter settlement and Site 29 (Kota Aur), at which place we have evidence of a fairly long period of occupation in the finding of deposits of provincial Yüan celadons passing into XVth and XVIth century Ming blue and white. The evidence of the *Kedah Annals* in regard to the age of these sites is therefore plainly corroborated.

One further point of interest concerns the notorious Raja Bersiong. His personality, as well as his actions, evidently impressed itself so much on his subjects that he is the only one of the six kings who is to this day generally remembered. In fact his fame is known to every Kedah Malay who is ready to

attribute to him ancient remains of whatever period, which he describes as his fort, his elephant-trap, his flagstaff, his grave, etc.

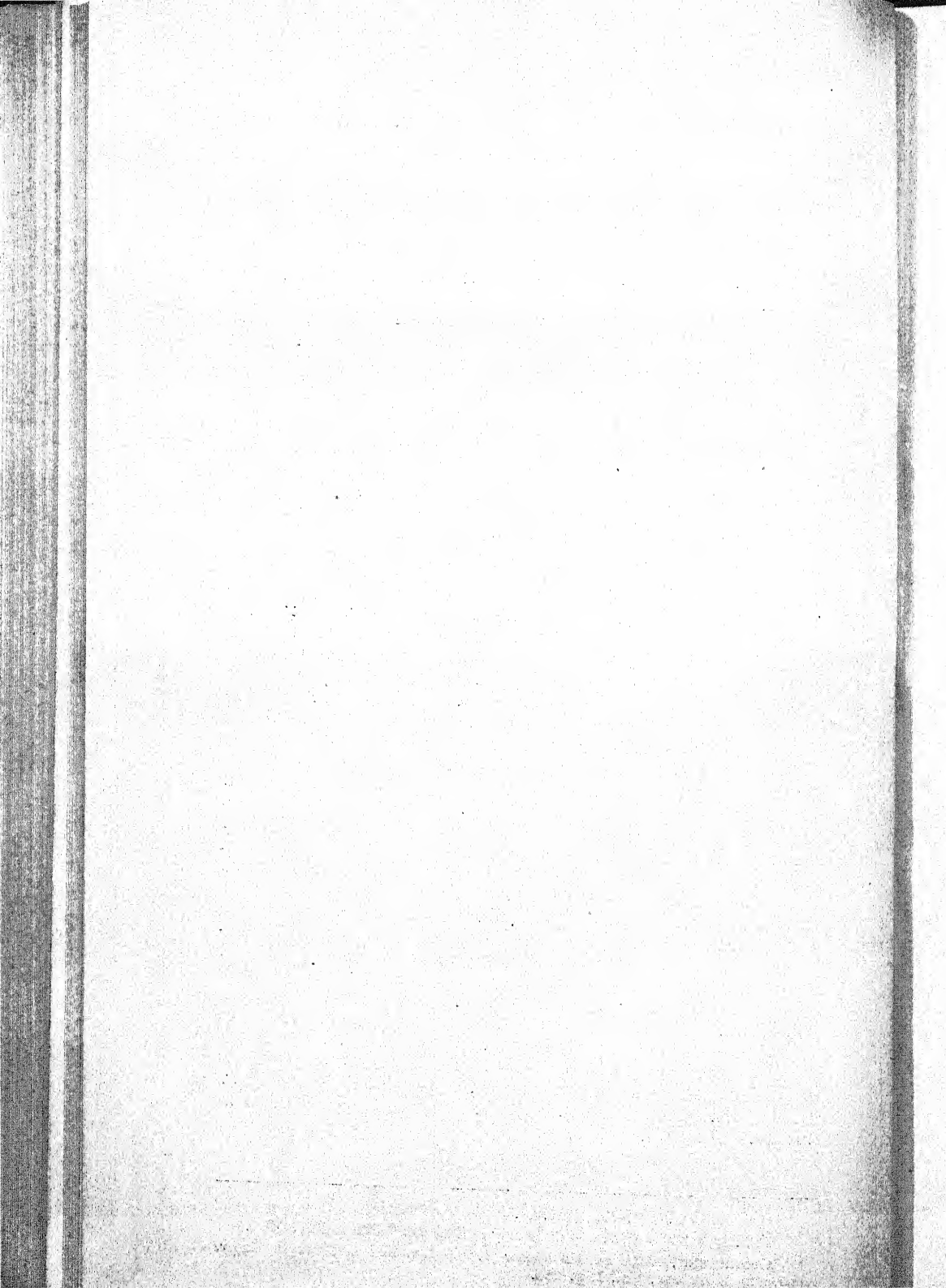
I do not for one moment deny the close similarity between the story of Raja Bersiong and the *Māha-Sutasoma Jātaka* (No. 537). But the *Kedah Annals* do not betray the touch of an Islamic chronicler alone; a number of points indicate that they have passed through the hands of Siamese Buddhist officials, and it may very well be that it was to one such editor, misunderstanding as he would the true *raison d'être* of Raja Bersiong's activities, that the resemblance between his tastes and those of the king in Jātaka 537 had occurred. For the very closeness of the resemblance of the story of Raja Bersiong to the Jātaka compels us to ask ourselves how otherwise could the Jātaka story have been fastened on to a perfectly historical ruler of Kedah, for such in essence must Raja Maha Prit Druya surely have been now that the general chronological accuracy of this portion of the *Kedah Annals* has been established.

The only reasonable explanation seems to me that Raja Bersiong was an adherent to the Bhairava cult, which would certainly either have been misunderstood or intentionally painted in the blackest terms by a Hinayāna Buddhist. Bhairava worship was known in the Peninsula at an early date as is indicated by a statue of S'iva in the form of Bhairava found at Wieng Sra and now in the Bangkok Museum¹. But it was after the close of the S'ailendra period that it appears to have attained popularity. The great statue of a Bhairava found at Sungai Langsat, Sumatra, is believed to depict the Menangkabau ruler Adityavarman who was initiated to the cult in A.D. 1370. The Bhairava, with Aksobhya Buddha in the headdress, is represented as holding a knife in one hand, a skull in the other, and is standing on a naked man, while a row of skulls border the pedestal². A Chinese chronicle of A.D. 1436 sufficiently indicates the practice of the Bhairava cult in Pahang³. Probably in the XIVth—XVth century the cult was fairly general in the Peninsula, and I feel no doubt in concluding that Raja Bersiong was not only a historical personage but a staunch Bhairava. Phra Ong Mahawangsa, who ultimately embraced Islam, was probably addicted to some forms of Tantric practices before conversion. The *Kedah Annals* merely state that he was fond of strong drink, without indicating that this was in any way connected with religion. But the unrestricted drinking of wine was a feature of the *pañcamakāra* practices.

¹*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XIII, Pl. X.

²Schnitger " *The Hindoo Archaeology of Sumatra* " Plates XIII-XVI.

³Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca in Essays relating to Indochina*, Vol. I, p. 255.



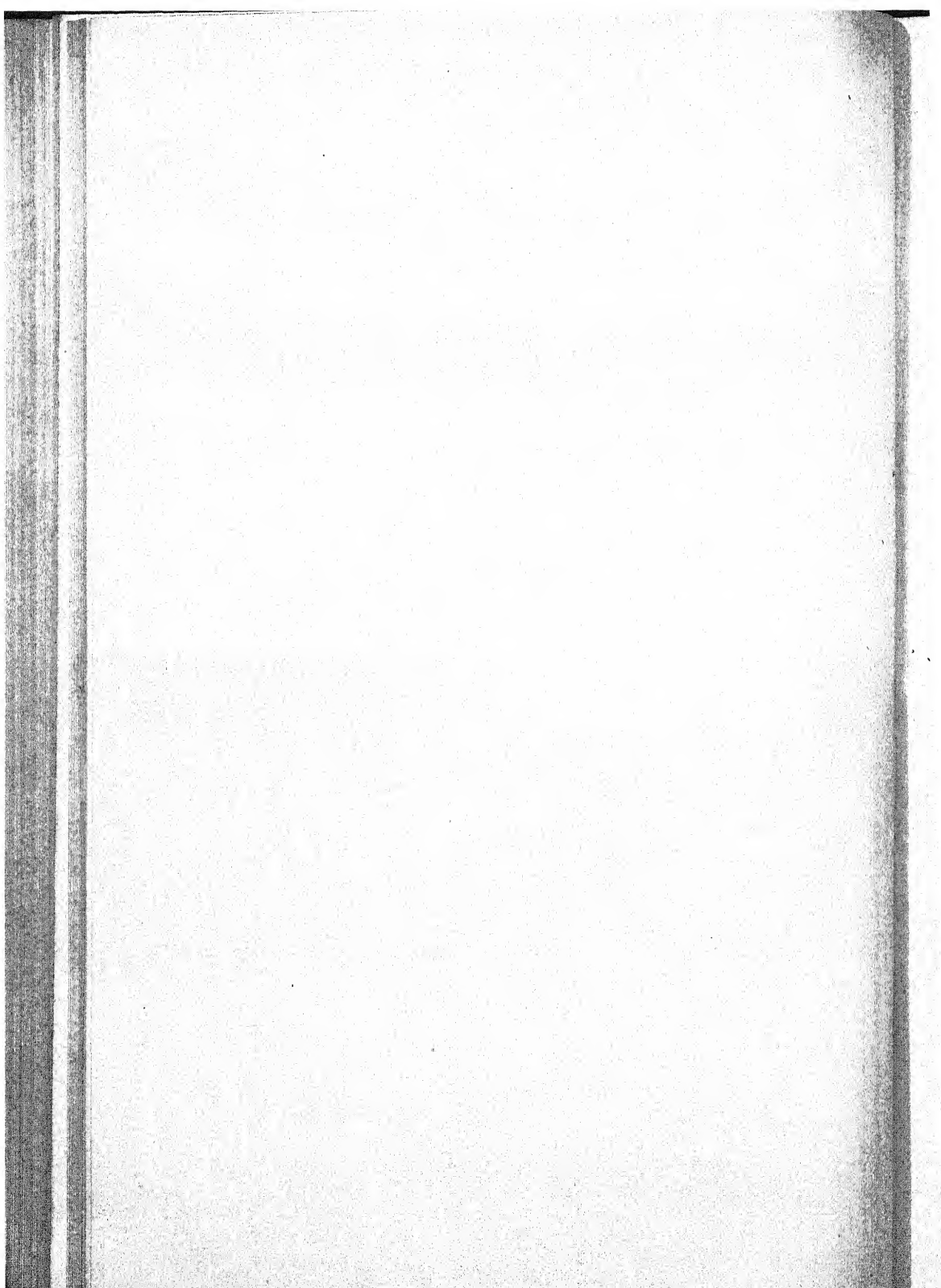




Fig. 1. Sketch map of Malaya, showing position of Kedah, Perak and Johore, the three states in which investigations were carried out.

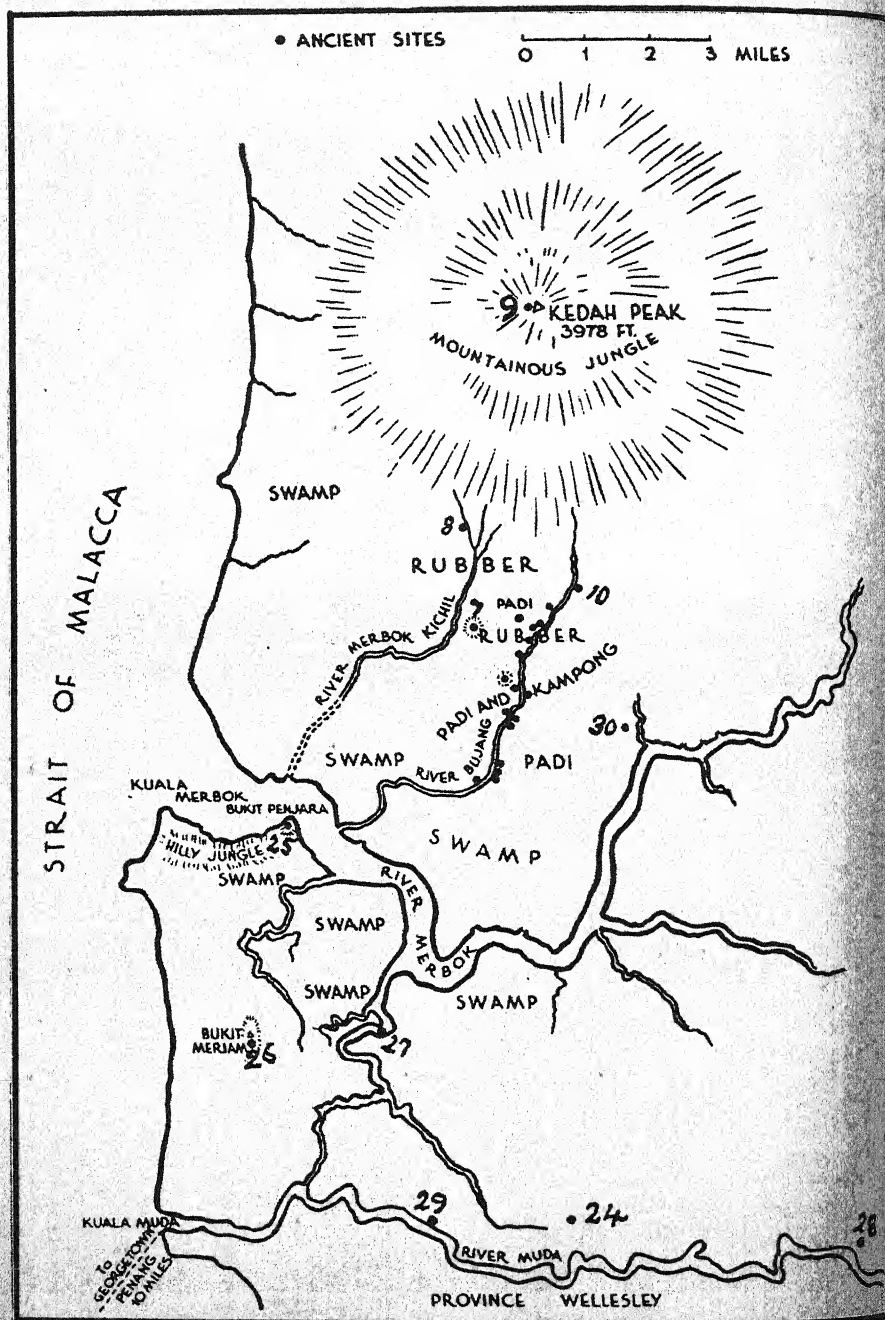


Fig. 2. Part of Kedah, showing positions of the ancient sites (see also Fig. 1).

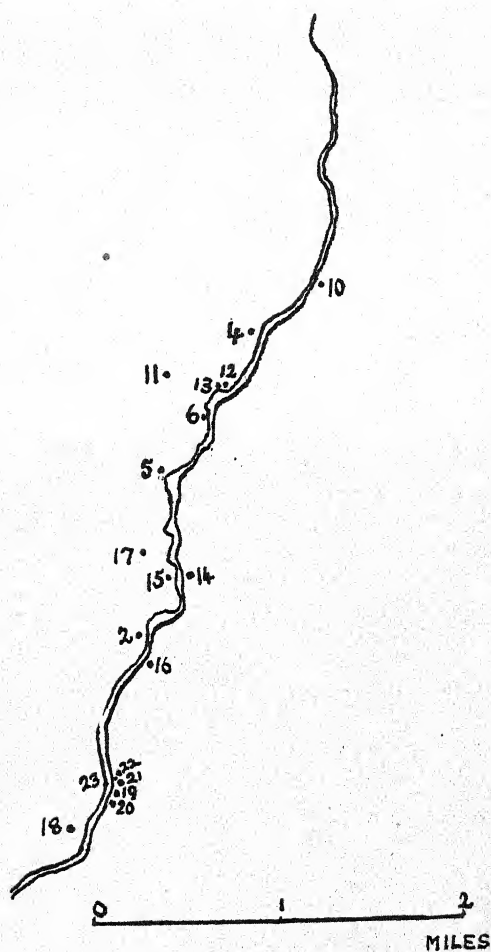


Fig. 3. Upper reaches of River Bujang, Kedah, showing positions of the ancient sites.

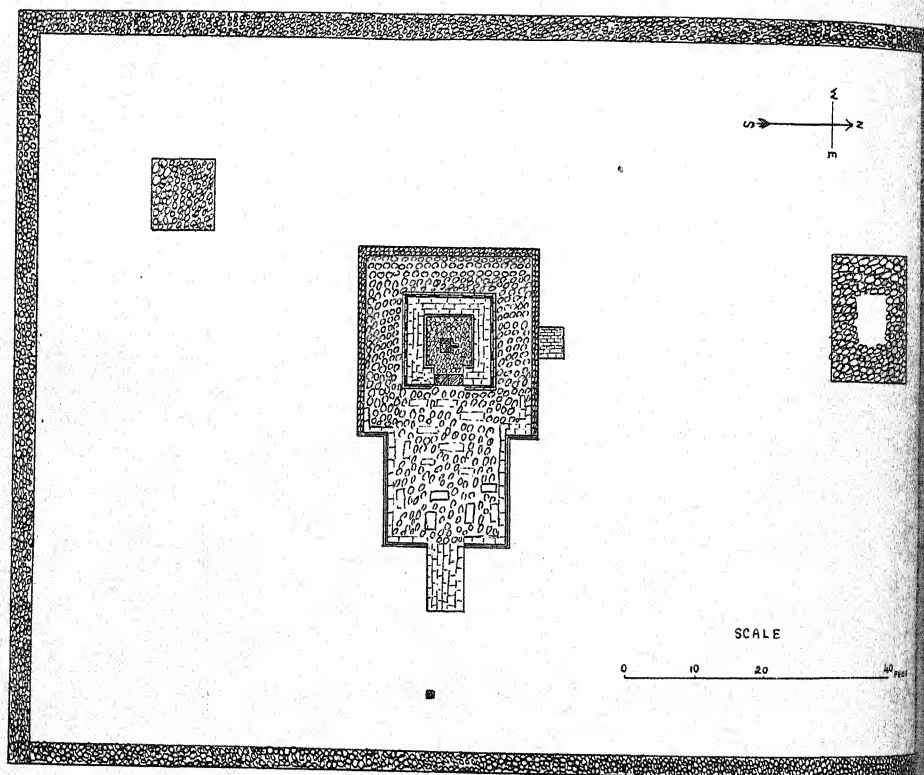


Fig. 4. Plan of Kedah Site 4.

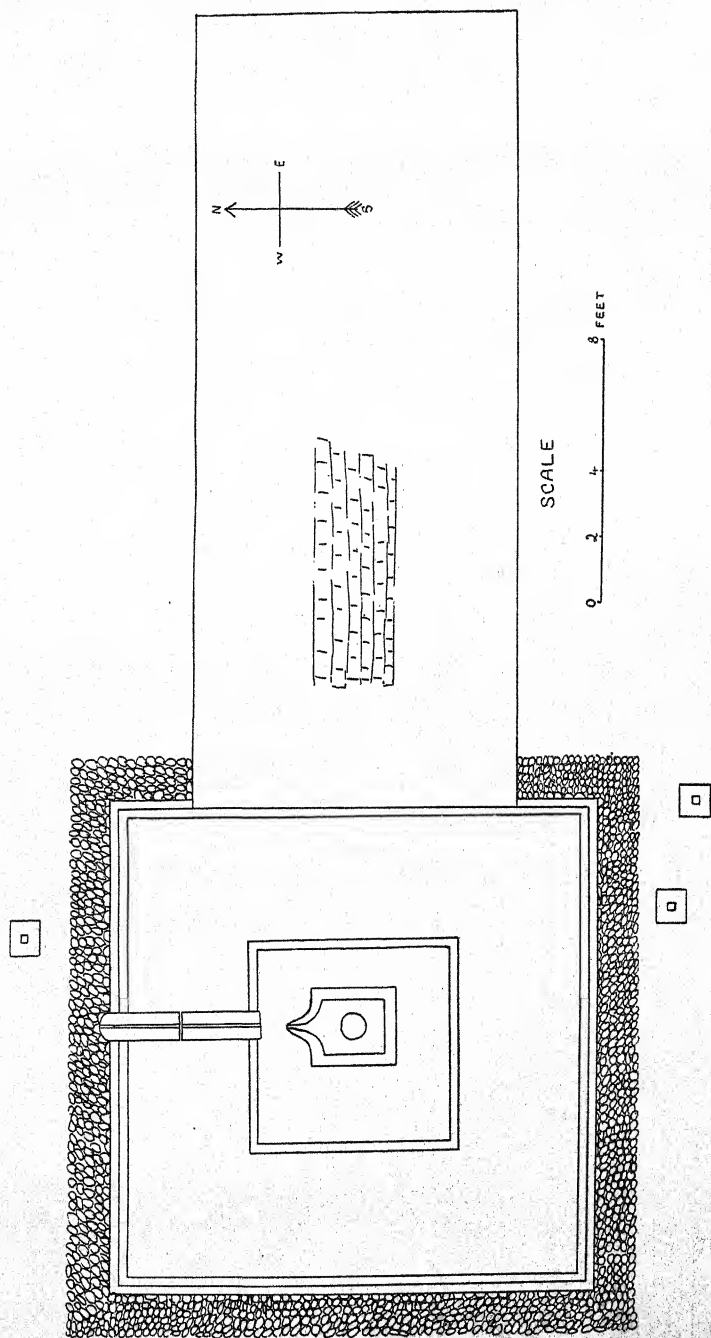


Fig. 5. Plan of Kedah Site 5.

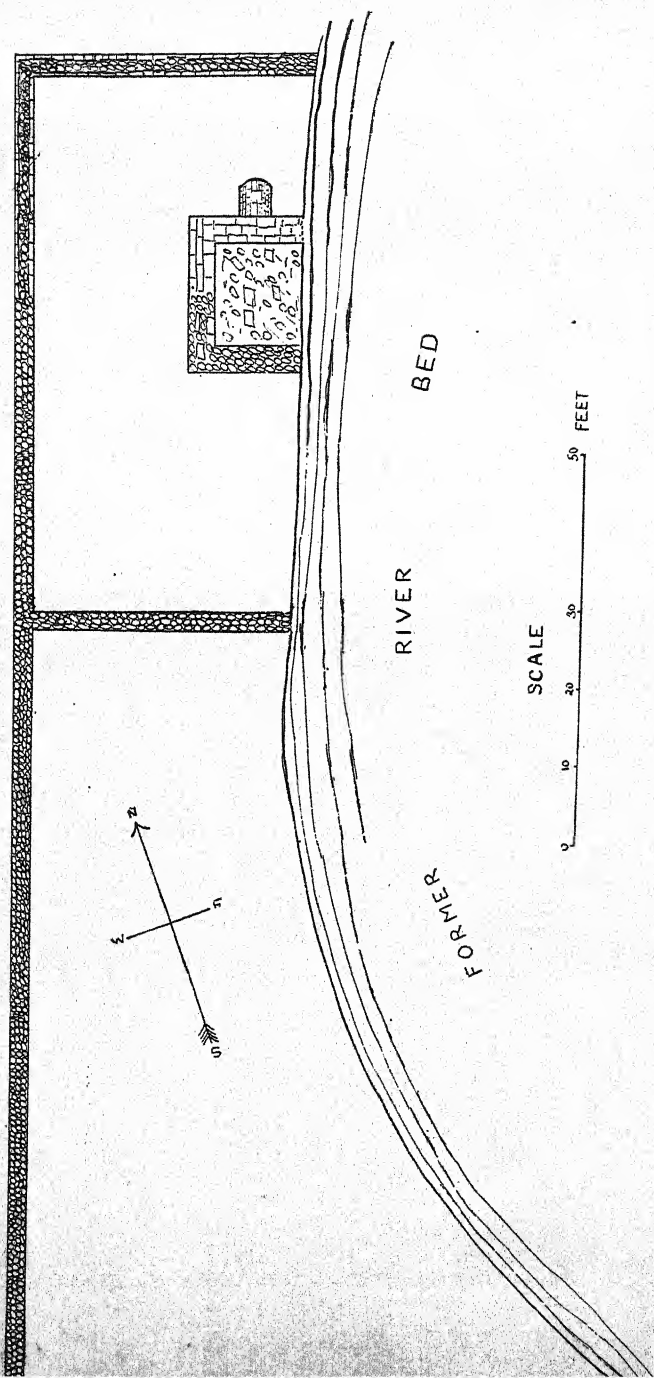


Fig. 6. Plan of Kedah Site 6.

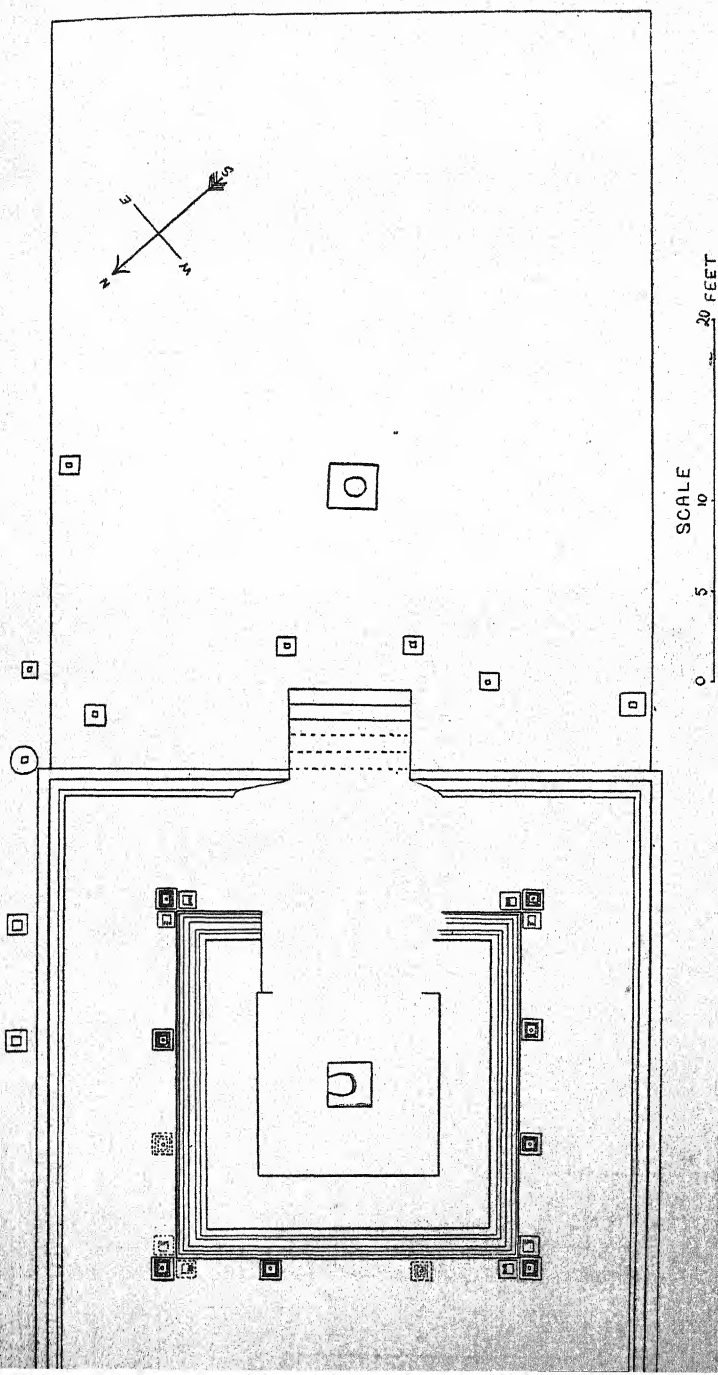


Fig. 7. Plan of Kedah Site 8.

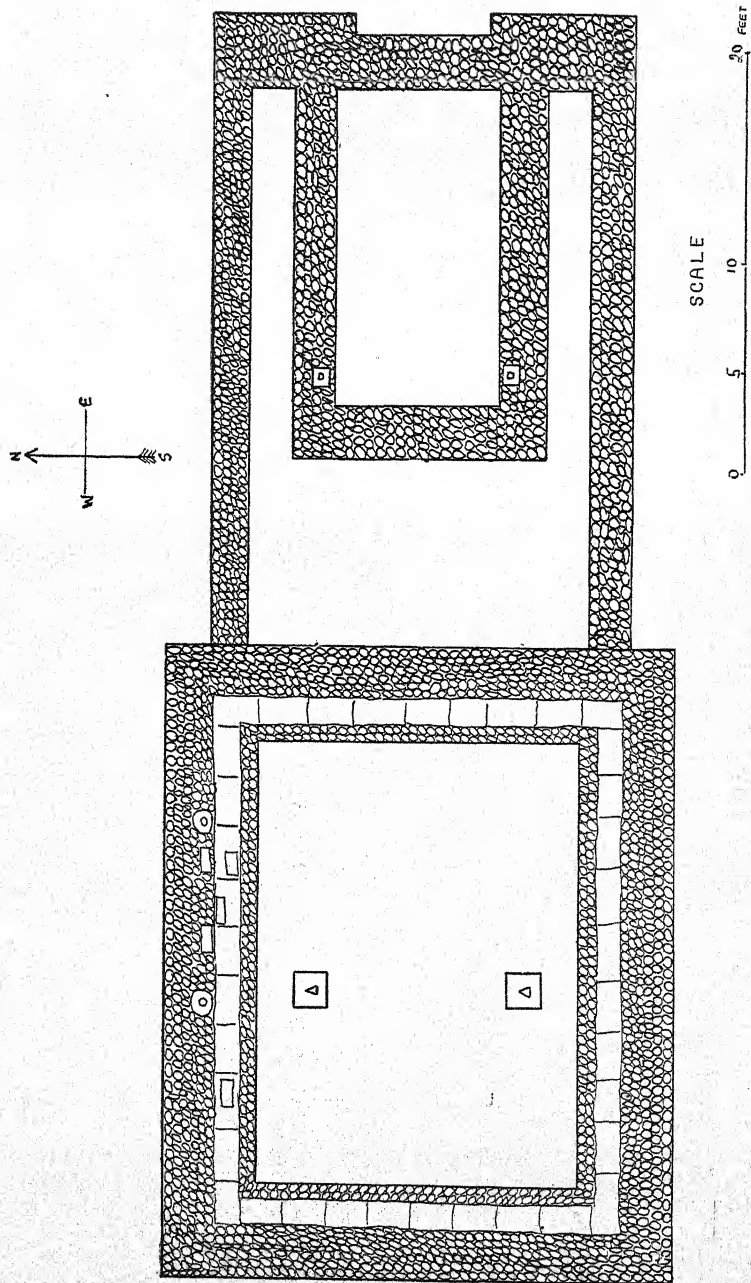


Fig. 8. Plan of Kedah Site 11.

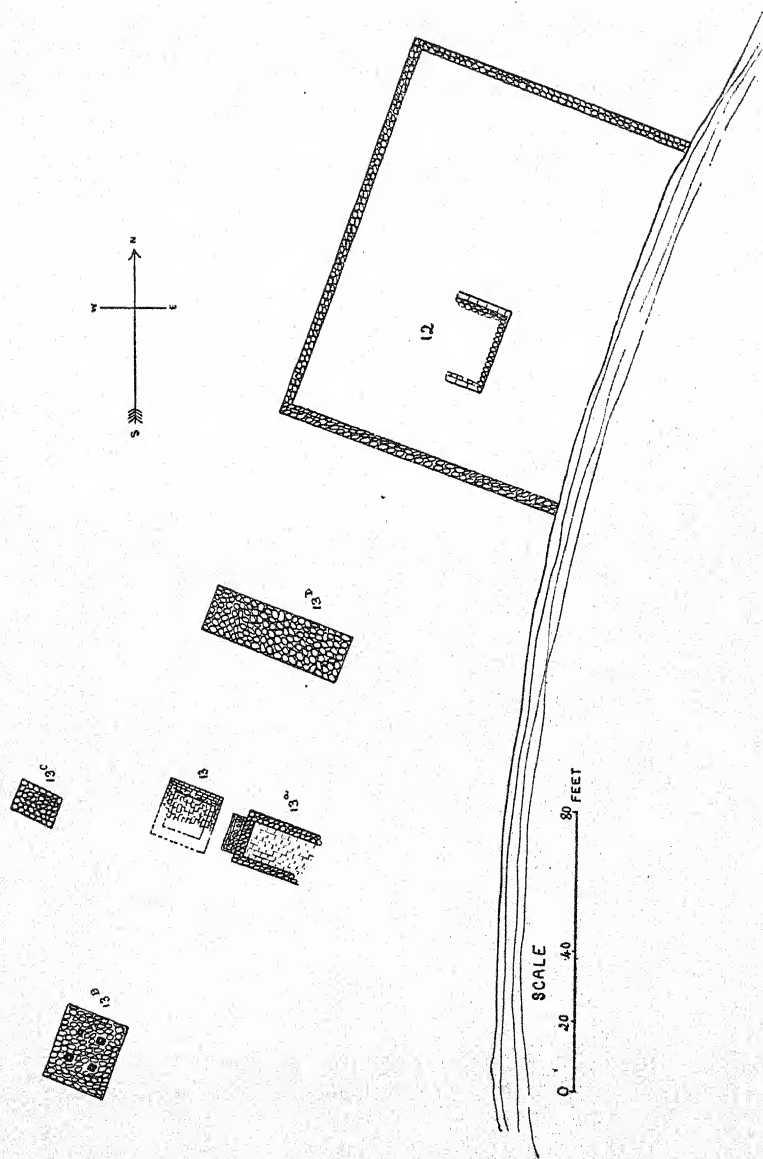


Fig. 9. Plan of Kedah Sites 12 and 13.

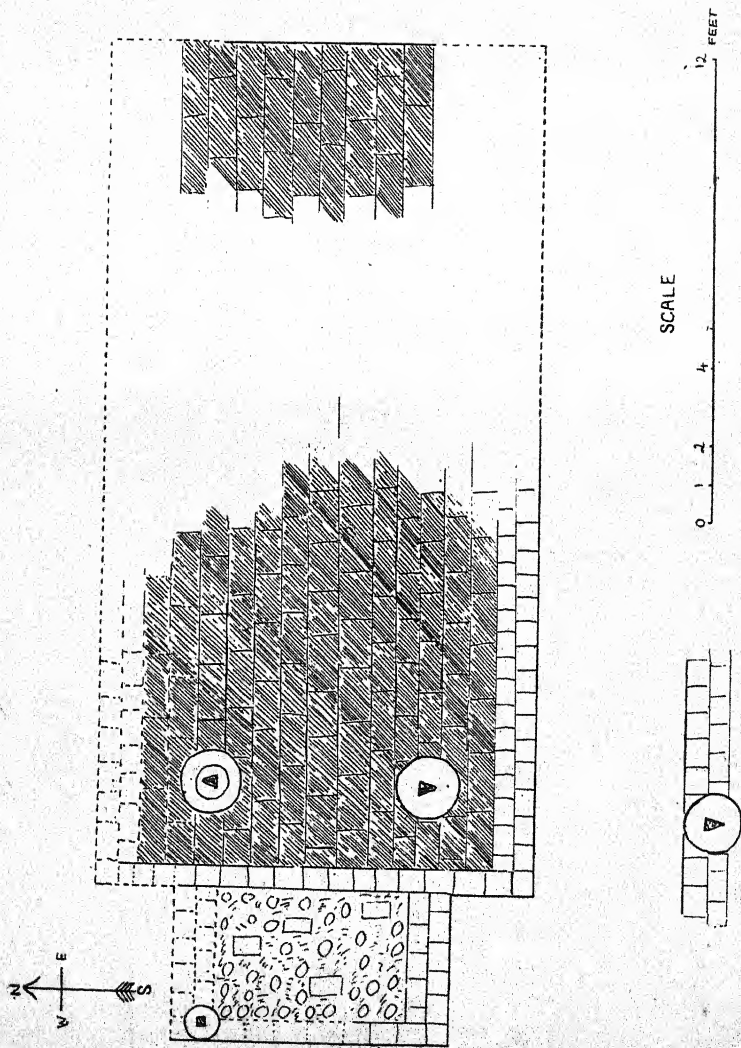


Fig. 10. Plan of Kedah Site 14.

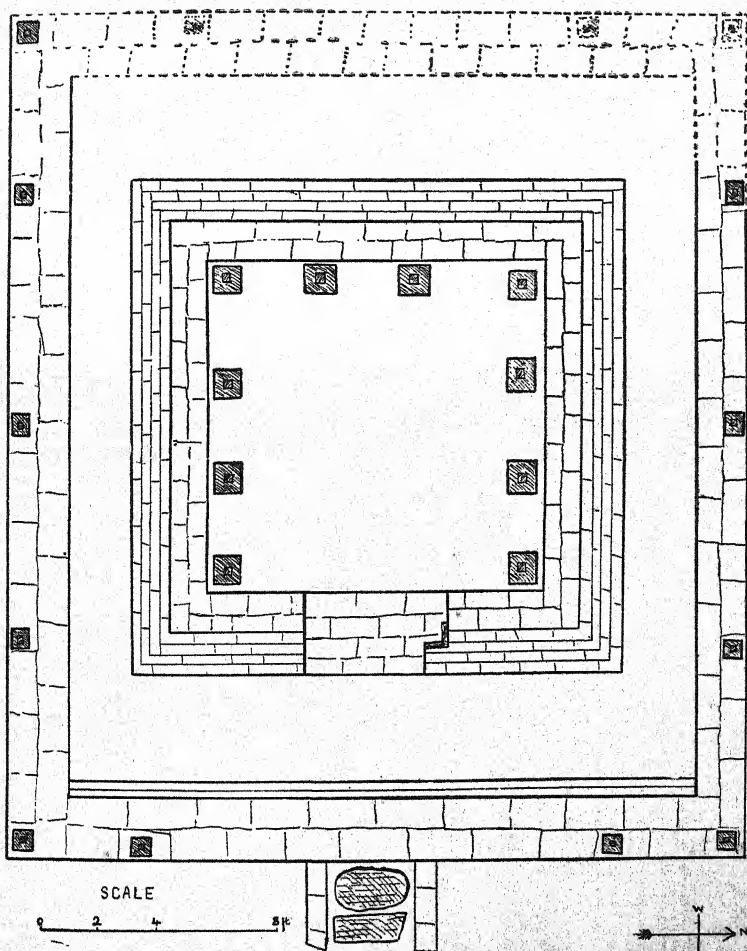
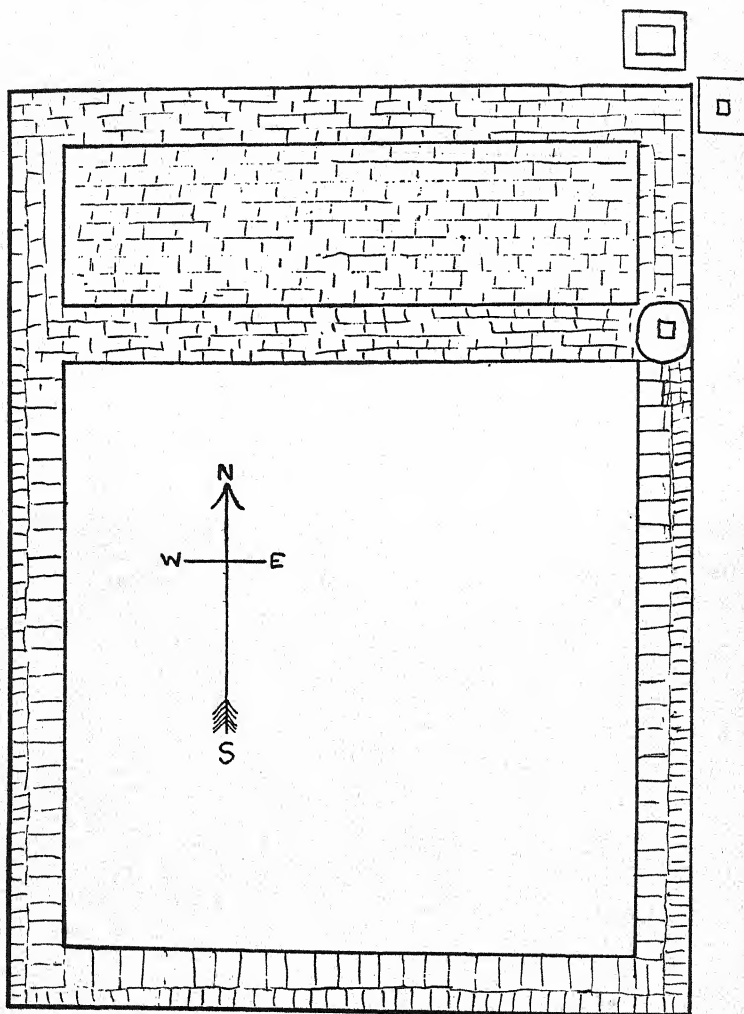


Fig. 11. Plan of Kedah Site 15.



SCALE

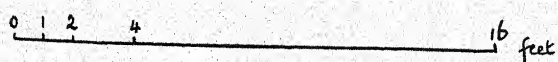


Fig. 12. Plan of Kedah Site 18.

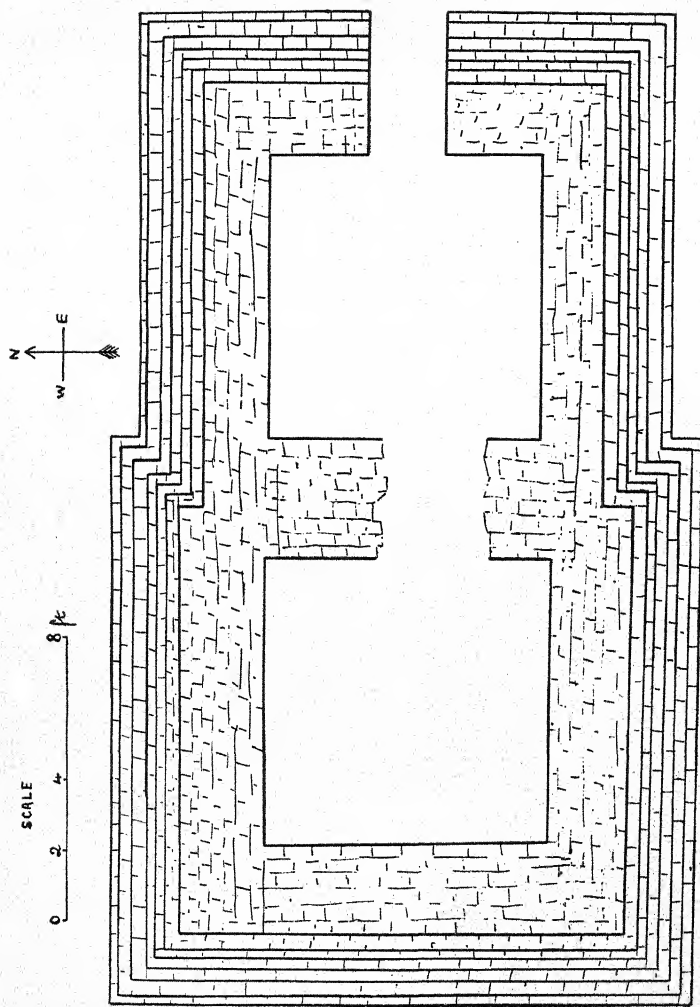


Fig. 13. Plan of Kedah Site 19.

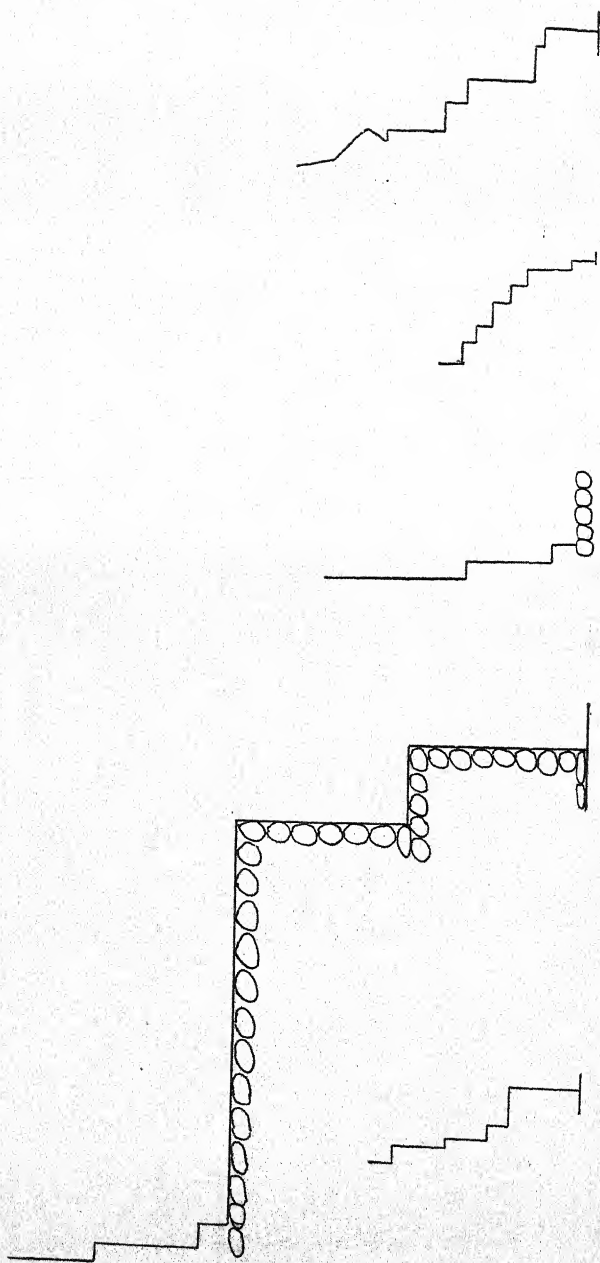
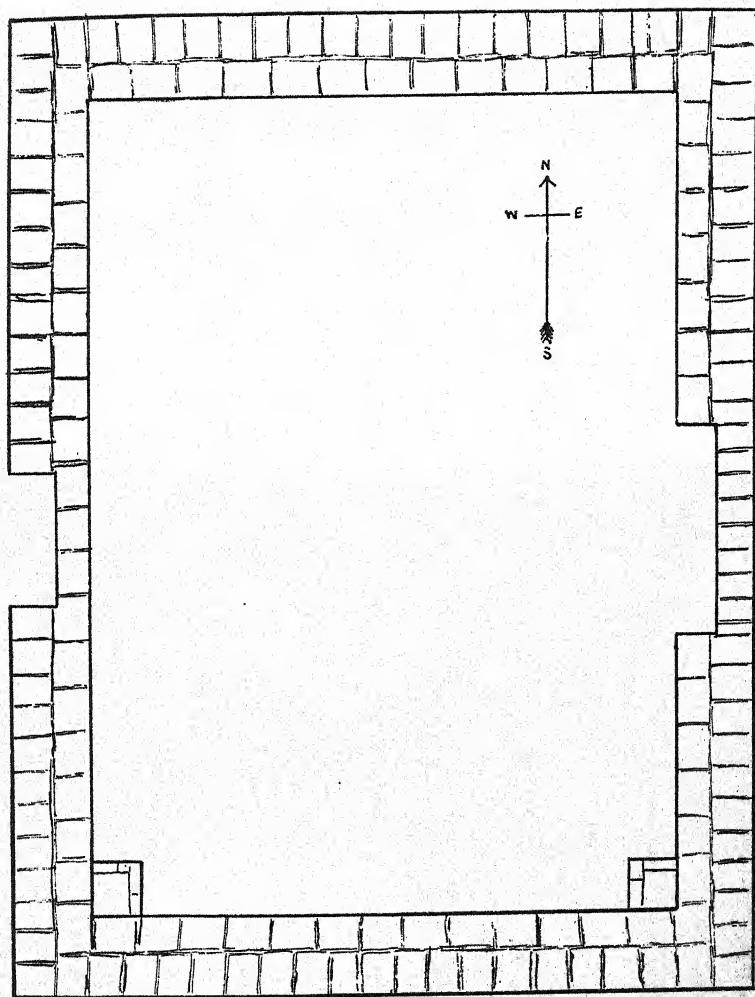


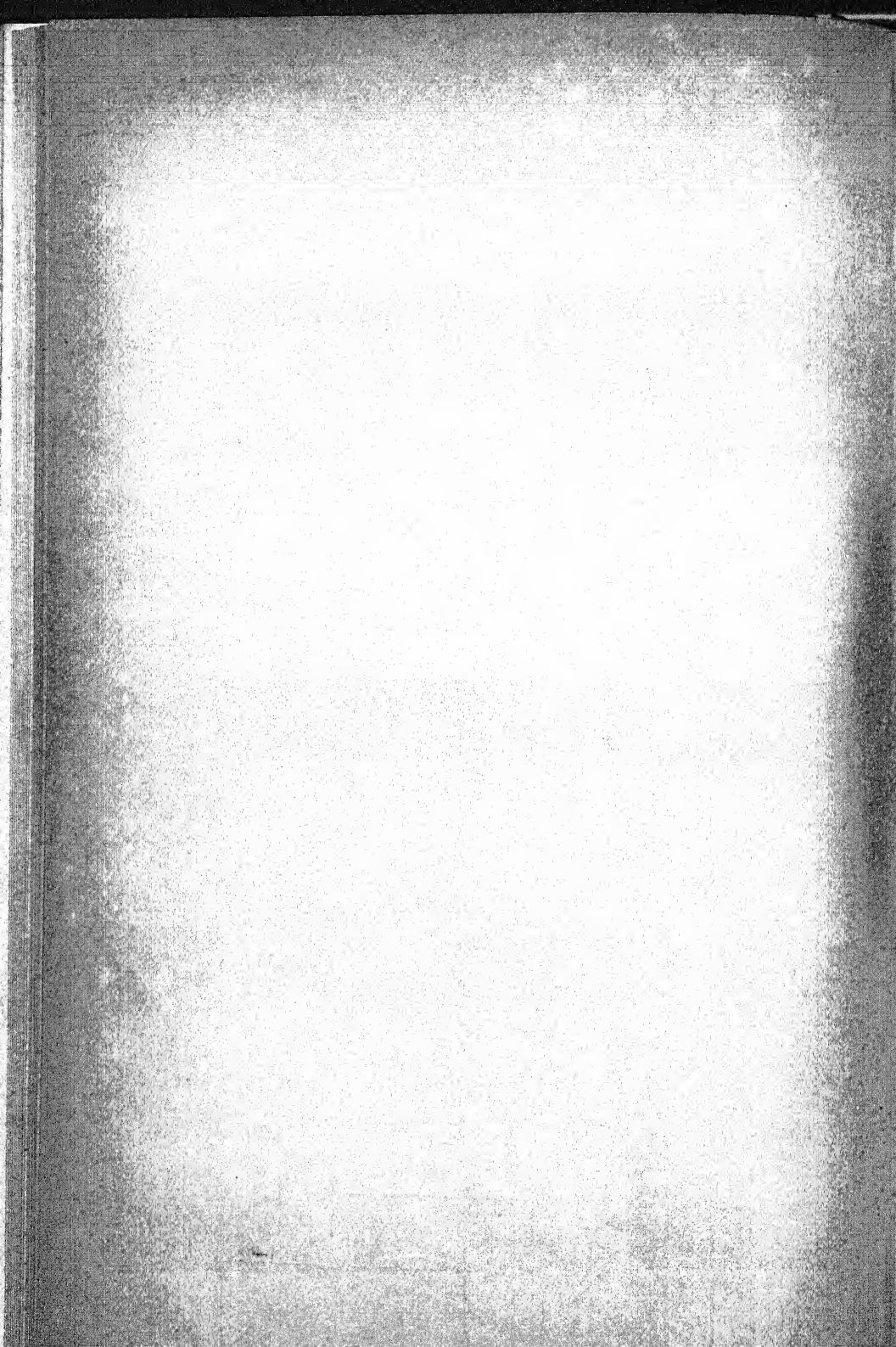
Fig. 14. Basement or plinth mouldings of sanctuaries (left to right):
Kedah Sites 1, 4, 5, 8, 19. Scale, 1" = 2' 6".

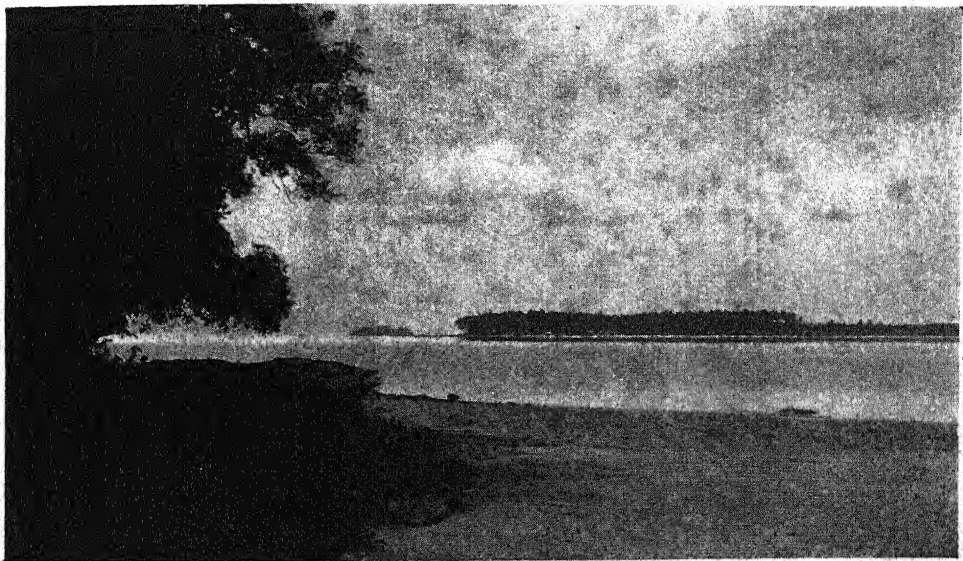


0 1 2 6 8 ft

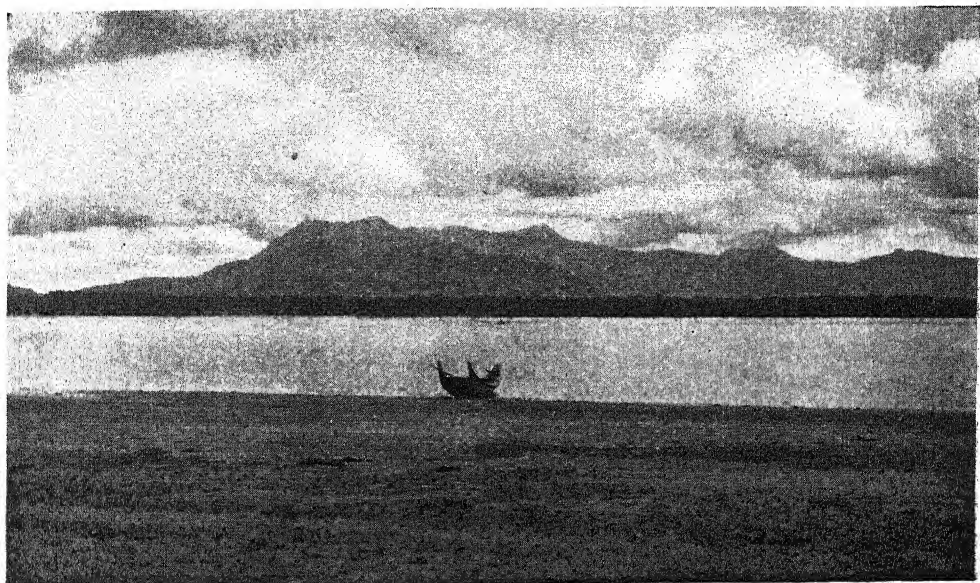
SCALE

Fig. 15. Plan of brick structure at Kota Tinggi, Johore.

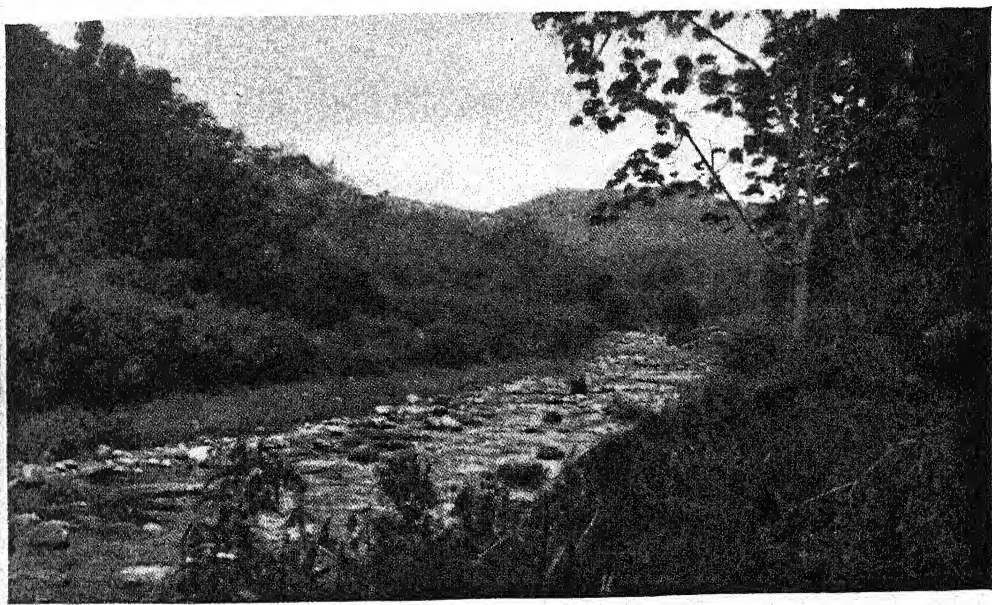




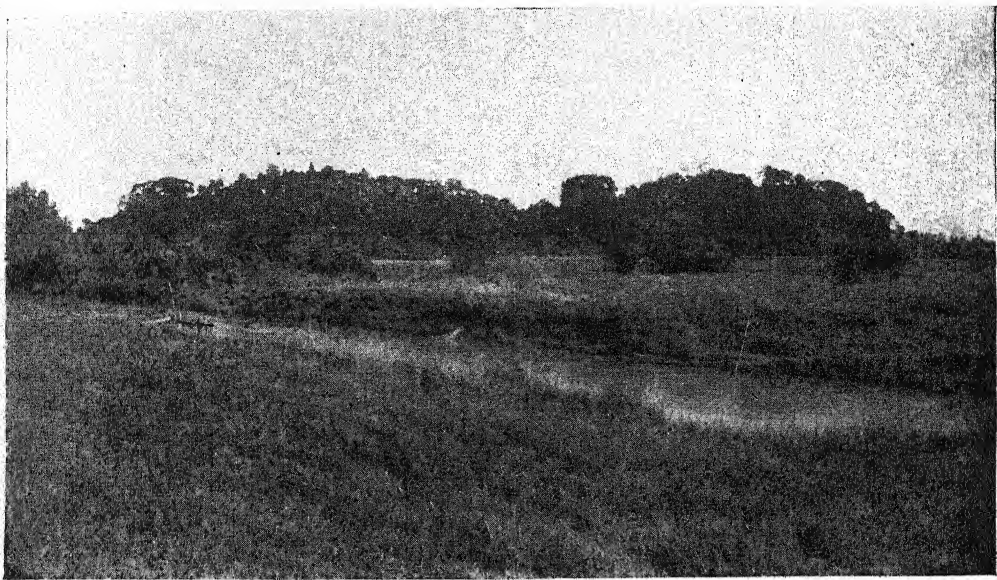
Pl. 1. The Merbok estuary, Kedah.



Pl. 2. Kedah Peak from south of the Merbok.



Pl. 3. An upper reach of the Sungai Bujang, Kedah.

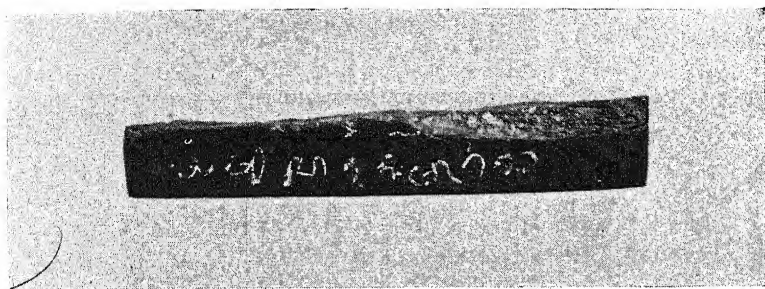


Pl. 4. Bukit Choras and the Sala River from the west.

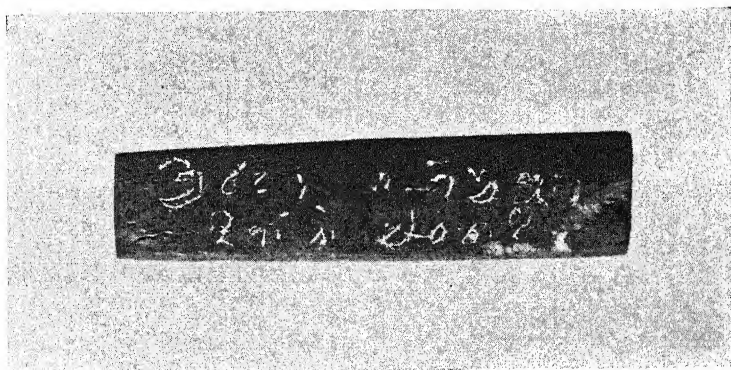


Pl. 5. Kedah Site 1: a corner of the laterite basement.

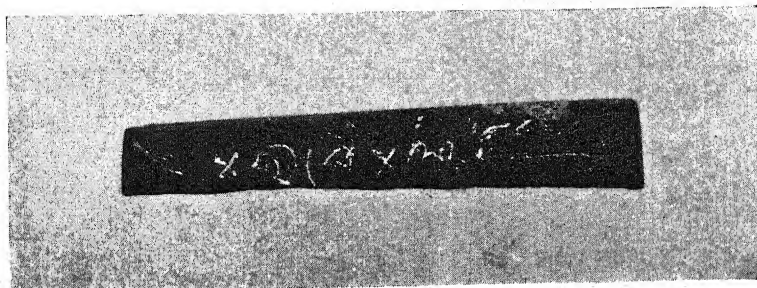
1



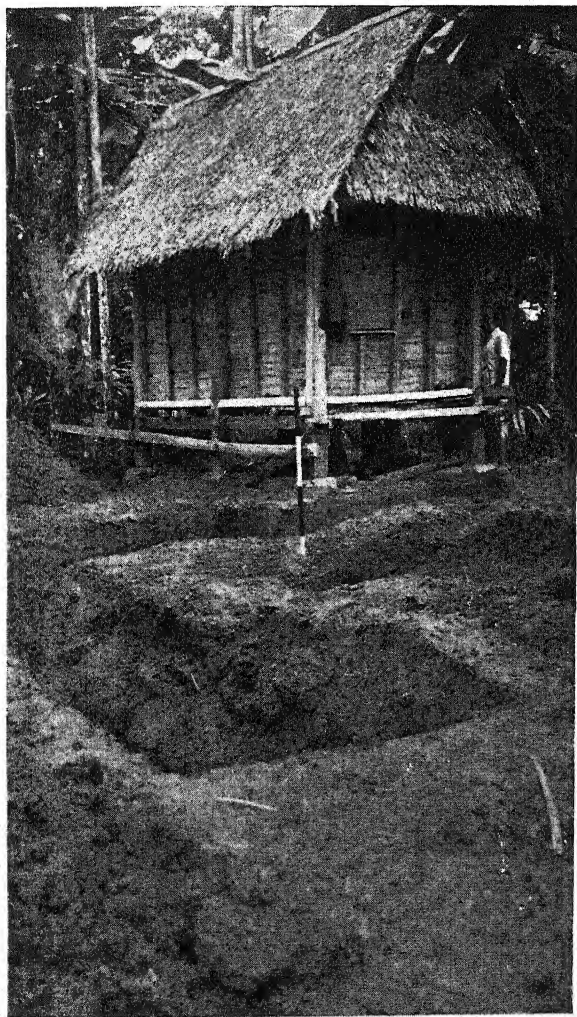
2



3



Pl. 6. Kedah Site 1: stone inscribed on three faces with Buddhist *credo*.

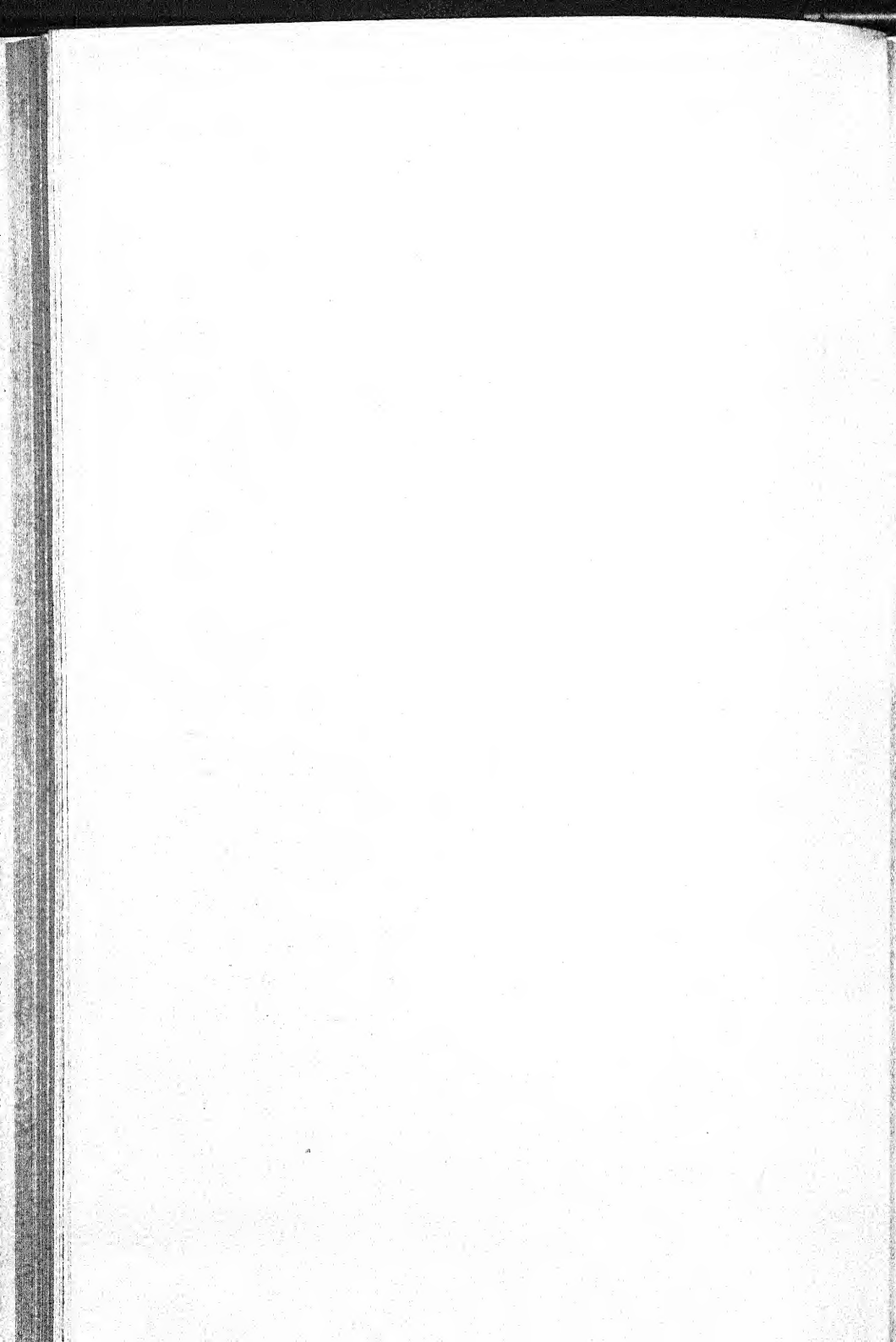


Pl. 7. Kedah Site 2: laterite basement.

ഉണ്ടെന്നു തന്നെ തിരിച്ചറിയുന്നതിന്നു
പണ്ടു ഒരു പുസ്തകം തന്നെ തിരിച്ചറിയുന്നതിന്നു

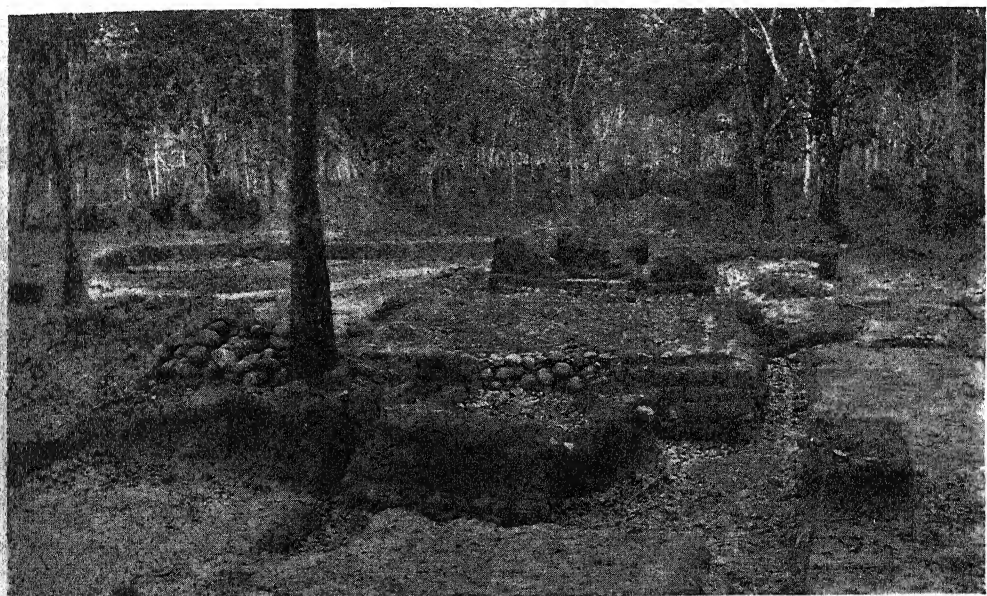
പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിന്നു തന്നെ തിരിച്ചറിയുന്നതിന്നു
പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിന്നു തന്നെ തിരിച്ചറിയുന്നതിന്നു

ഉണ്ടെന്നു തന്നെ തിരിച്ചറിയുന്നതിന്നു
പണ്ടു ഒരു പുസ്തകം തന്നെ തിരിച്ചറിയുന്നതിന്നു





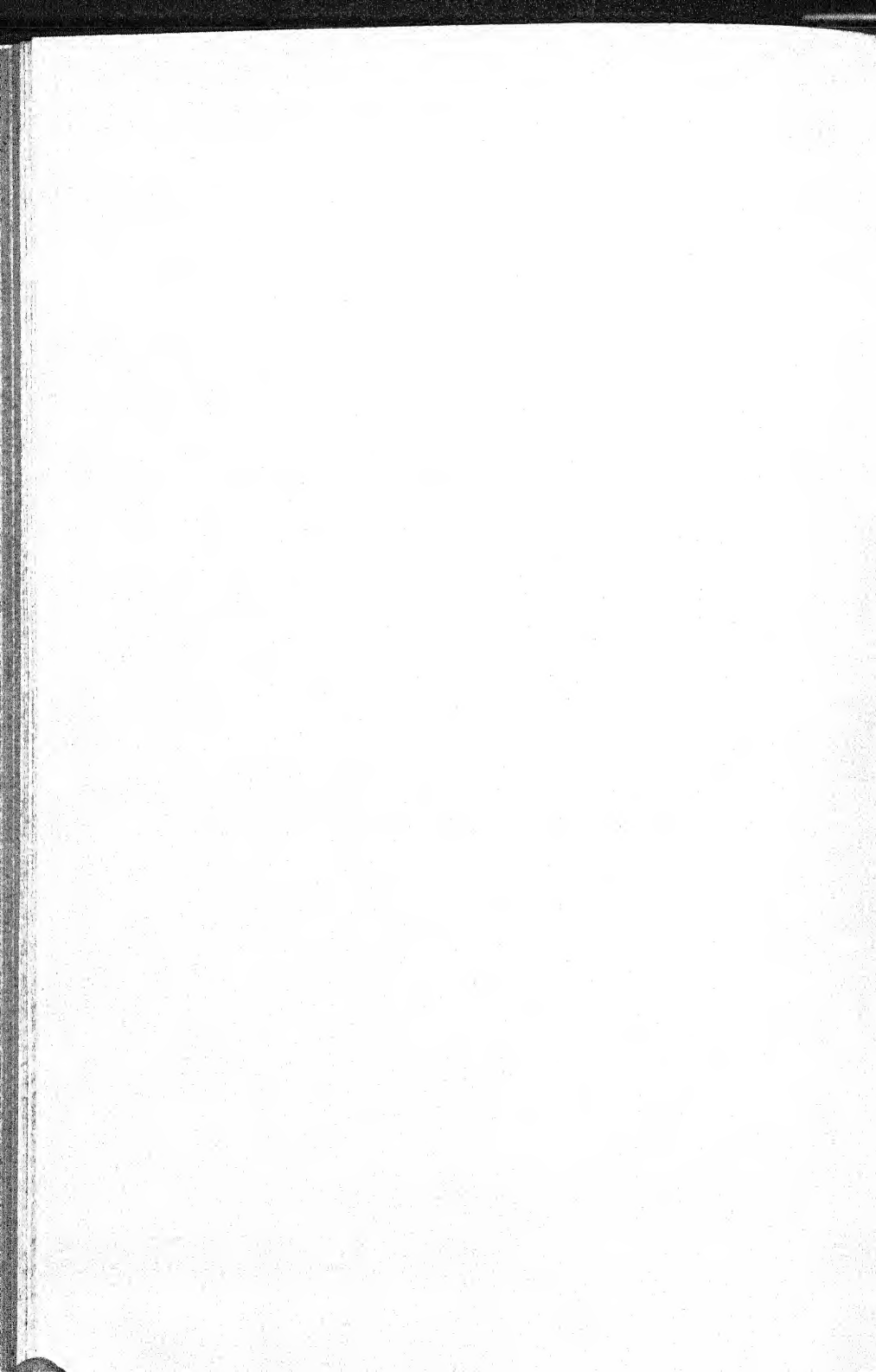
Pl. 9. Kedah Site 2: iron cone.



Pl. 10. Kedah Site 4: remains of *vimāna* and *maṇḍapam*-basement from the east.

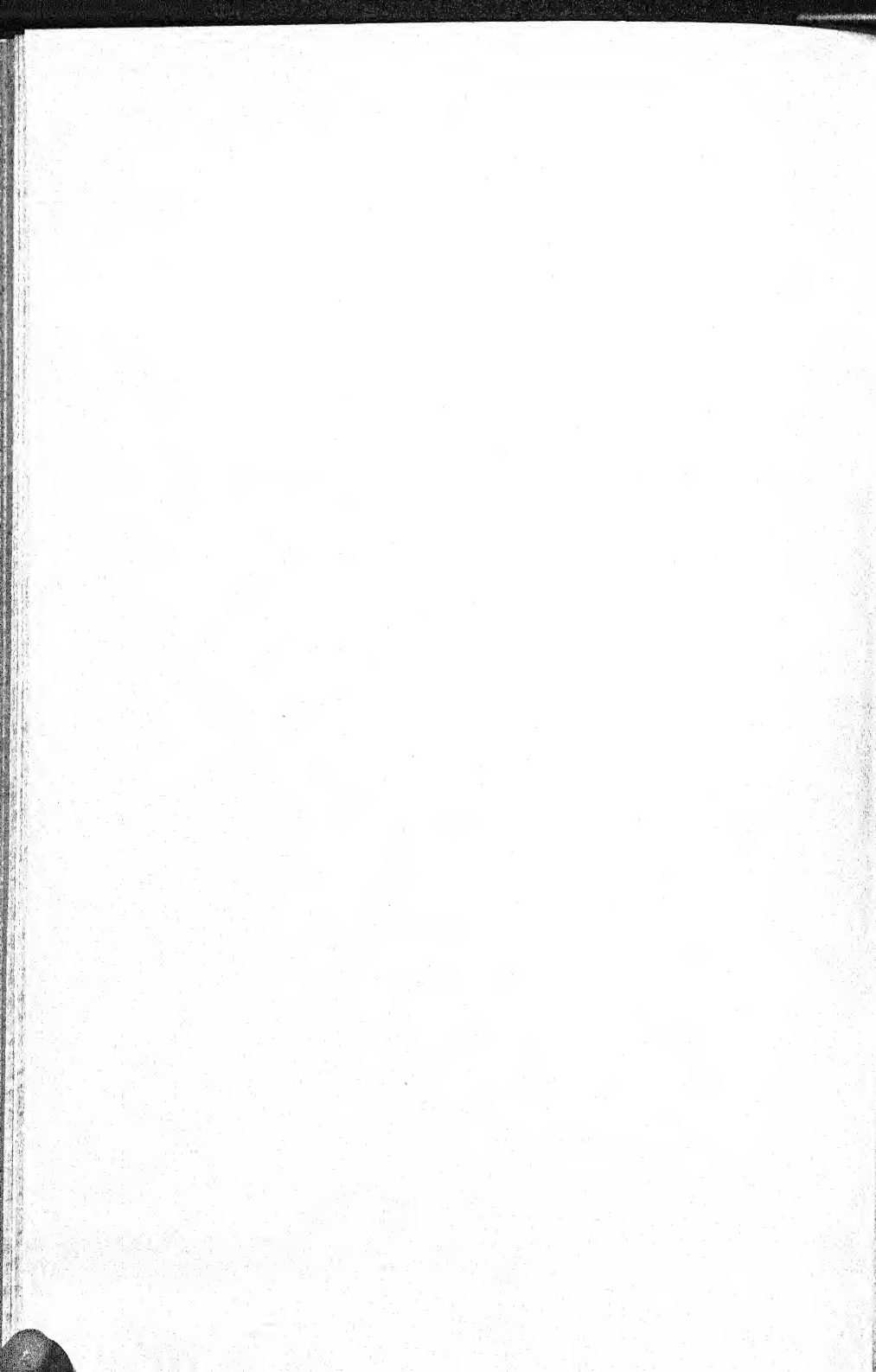


Pl. 11. Kedah Site 4: detail of *mandapam*-basement from the north-east.



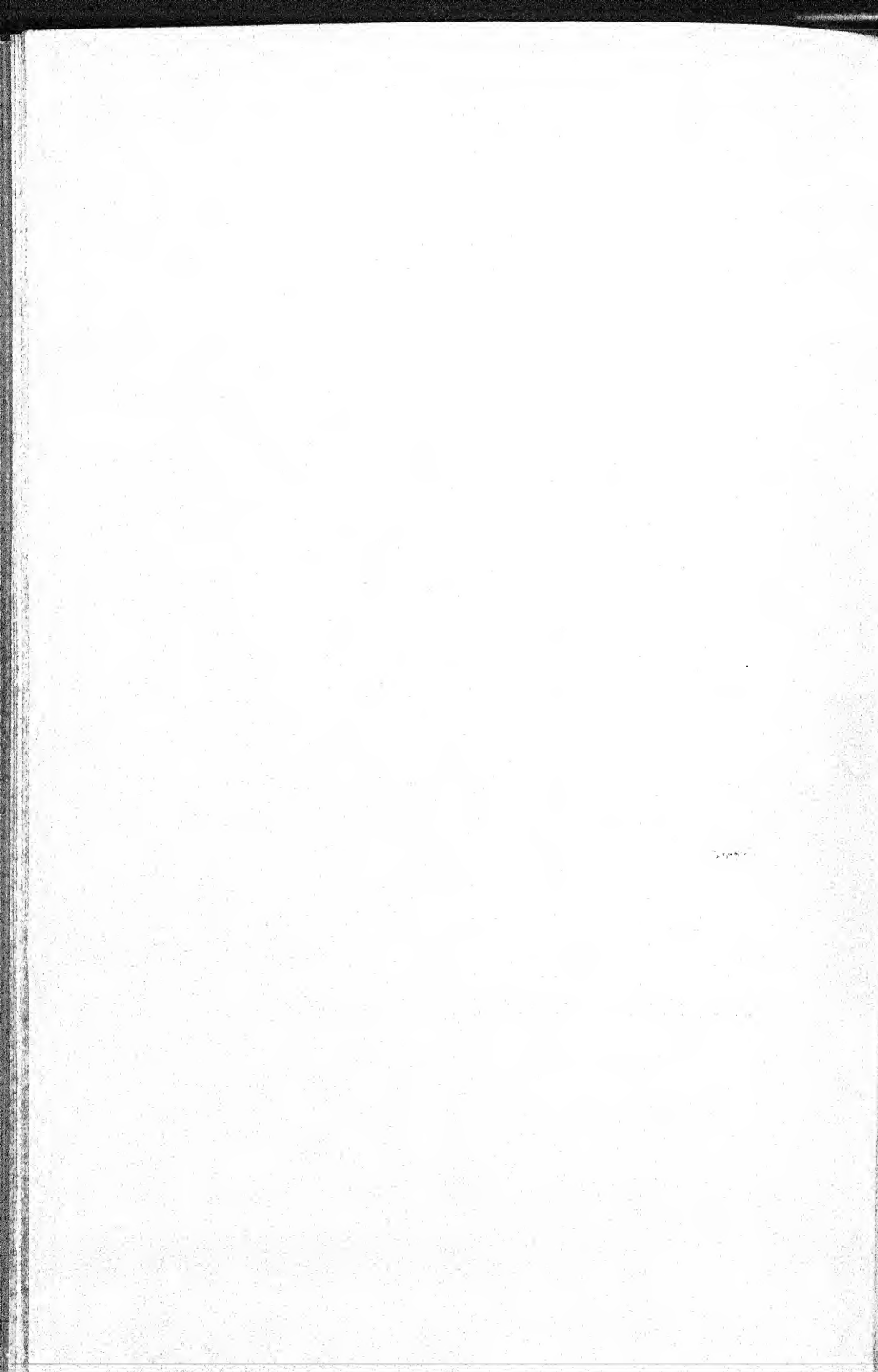


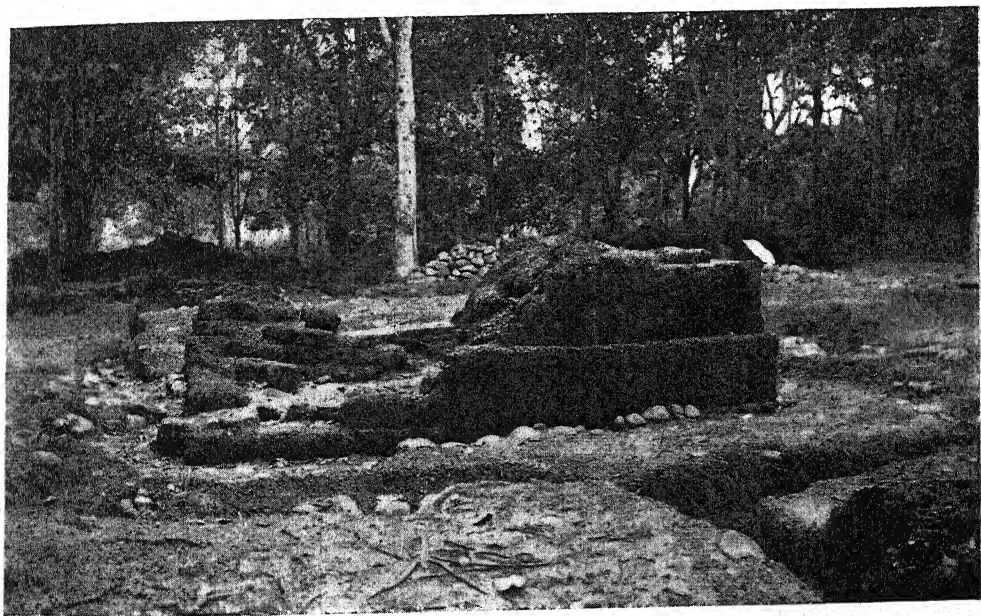
Pl. 12. Kedah Site 4: remains of *vimāna* and basement from the south-east.



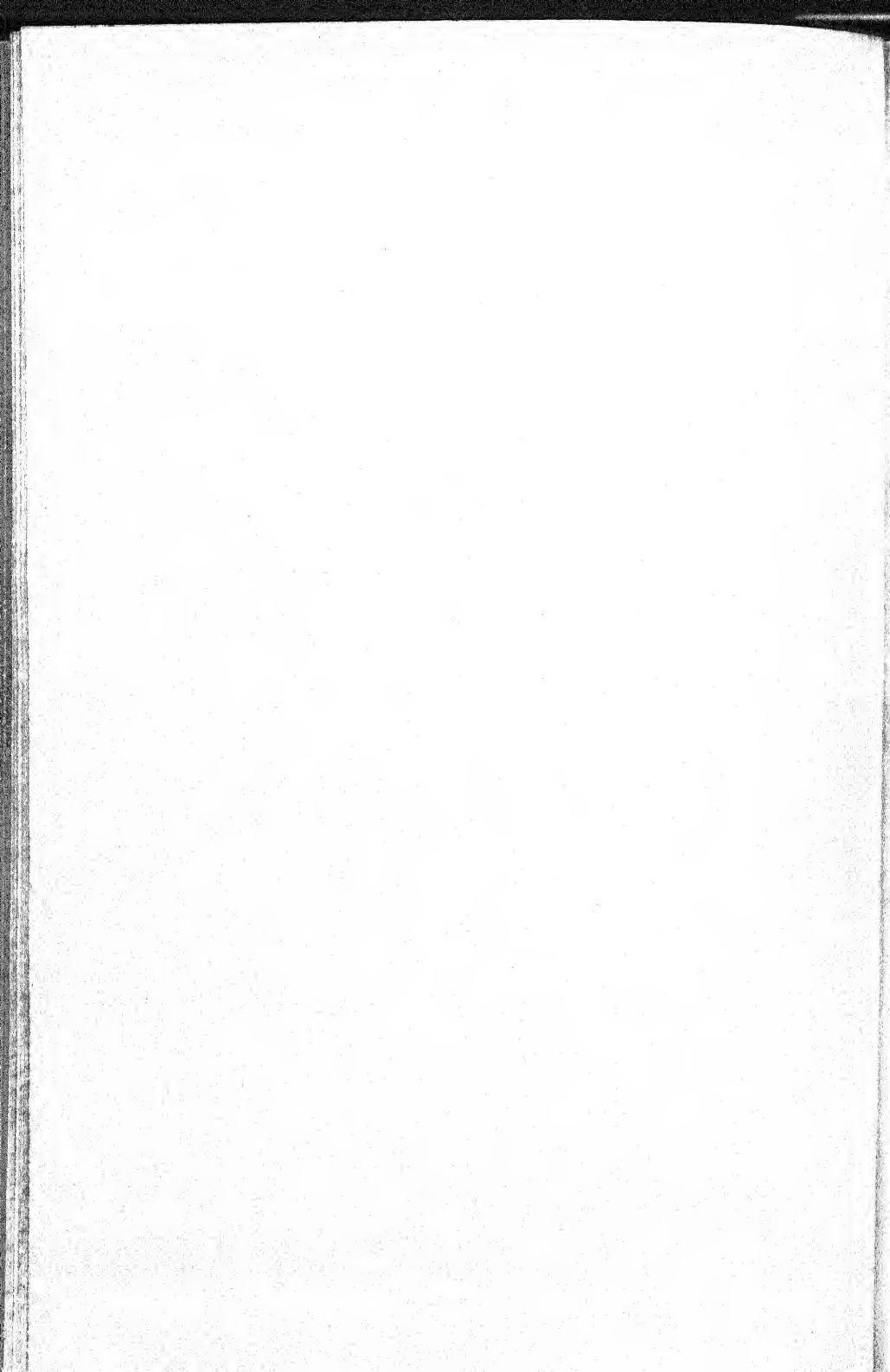


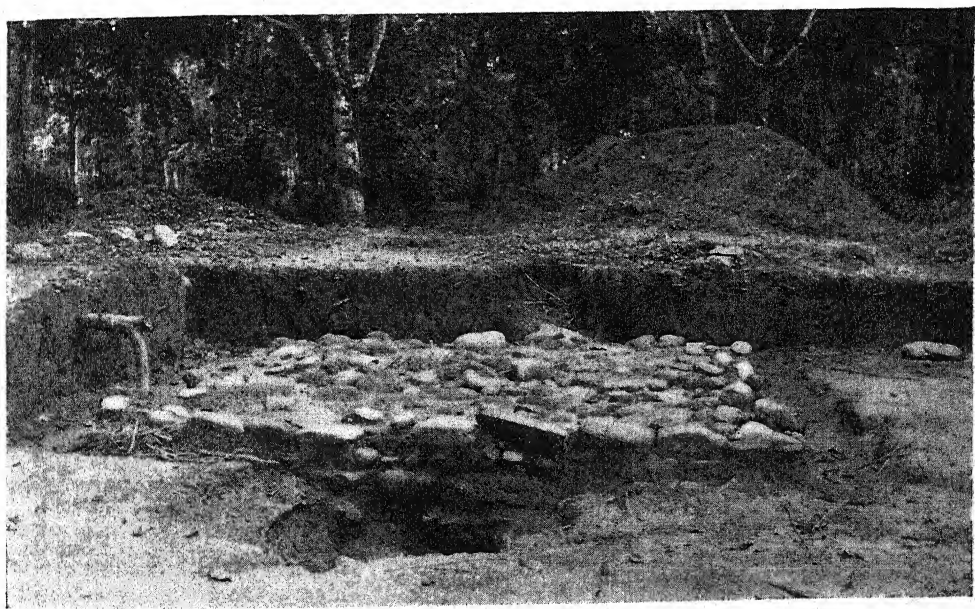
Pl. 13. Kedah Site 4: remains of *vimāna* from the north-west.



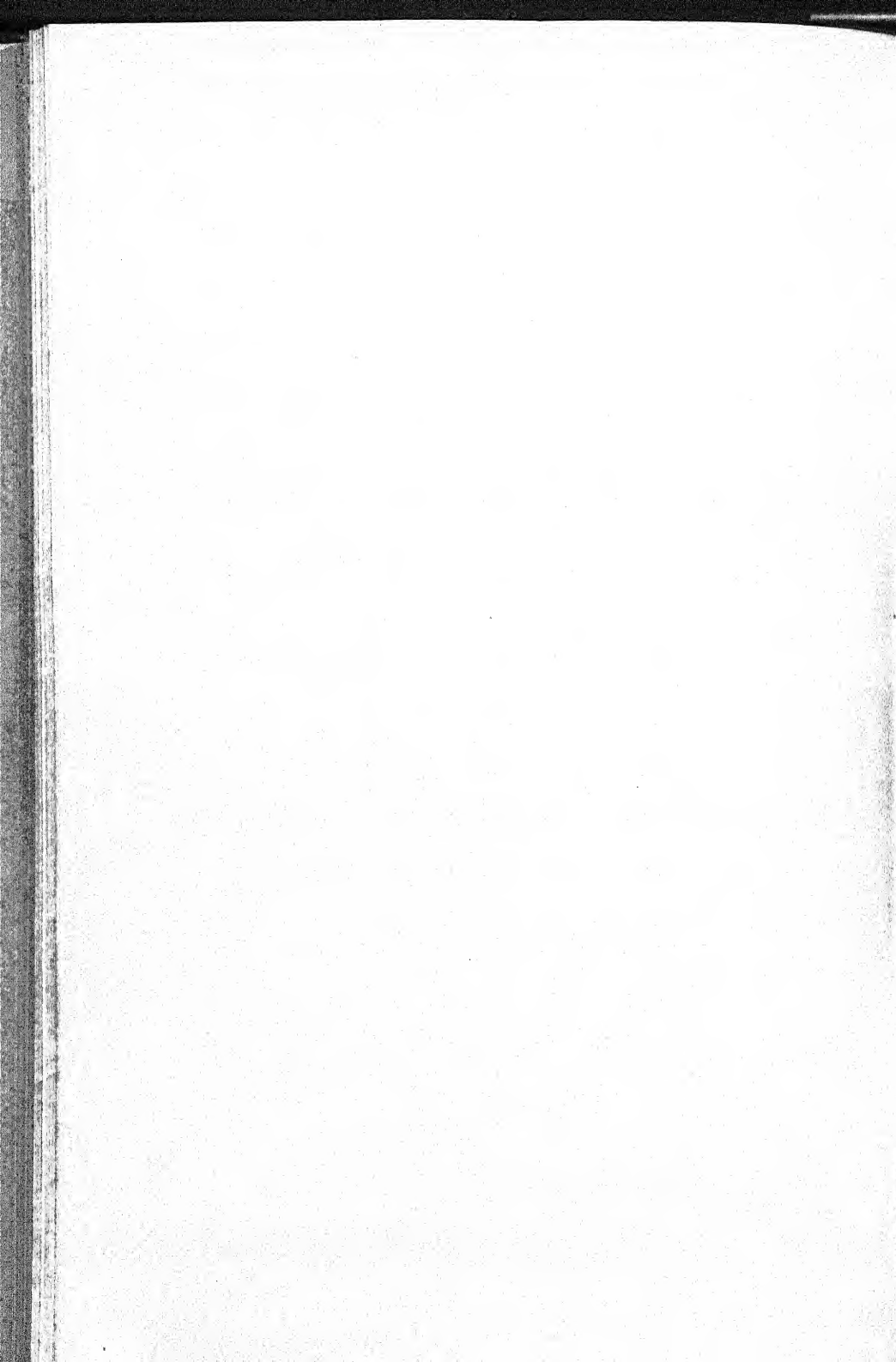


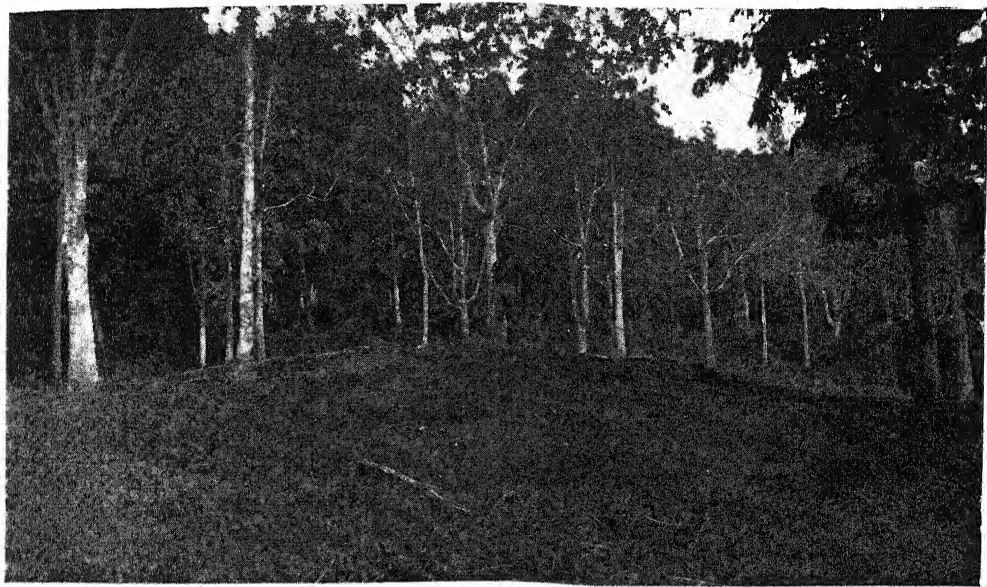
Pl. 14. Kedah Site 4: remains of *vimāna* from the west, showing traces of pilasters.



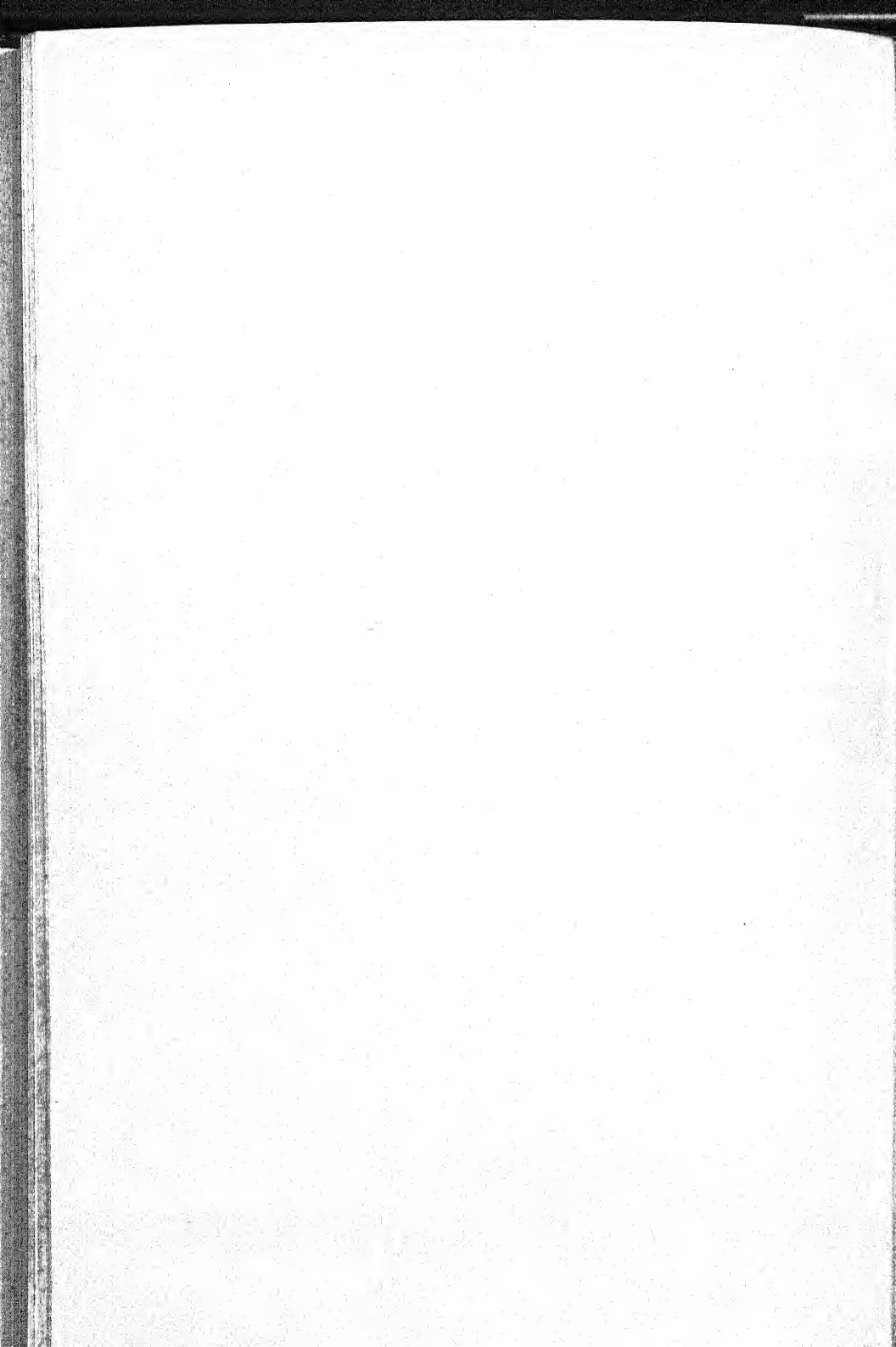


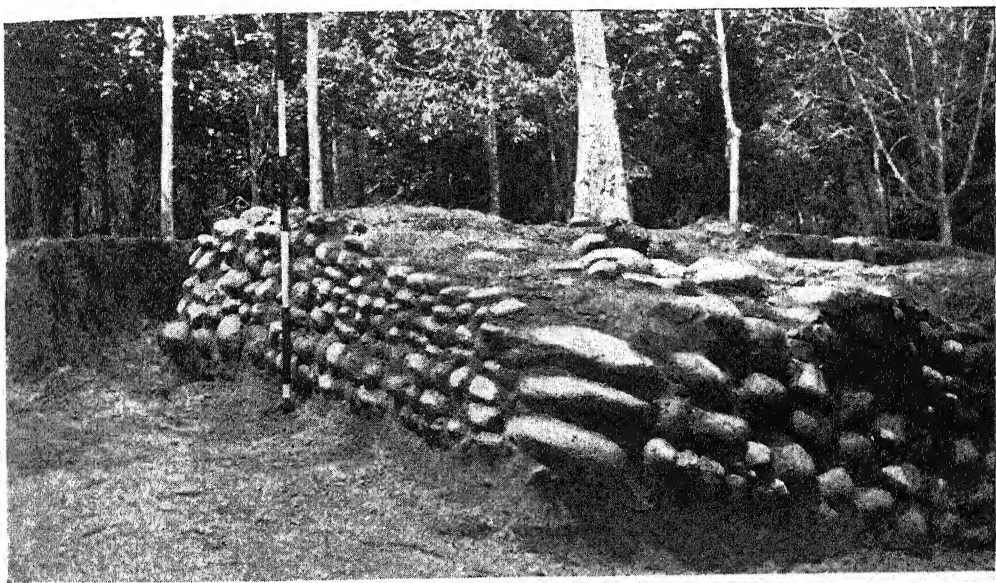
Pl. 15. Kedah Site 4a: basement of boulders.



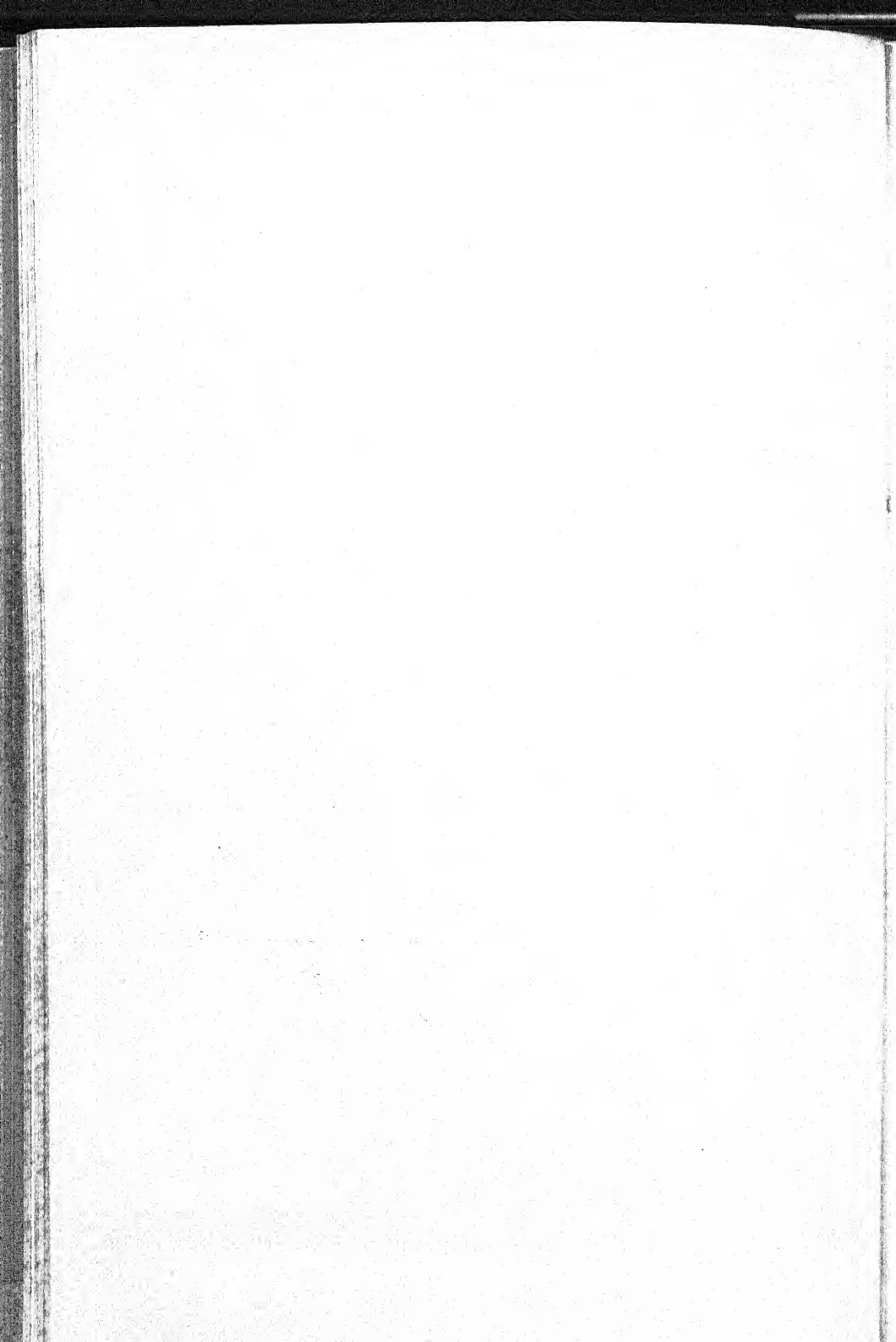


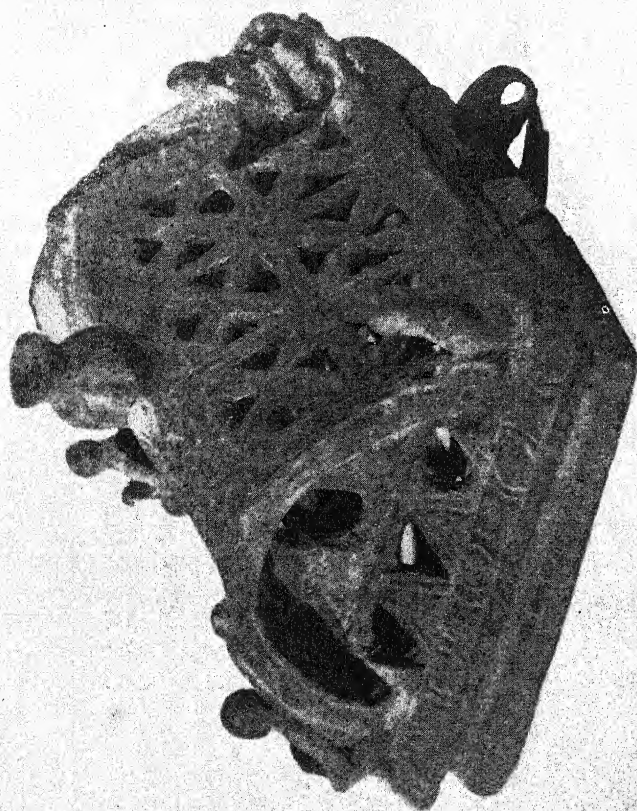
Pl. 16. Kedah Site 4c: before excavation.



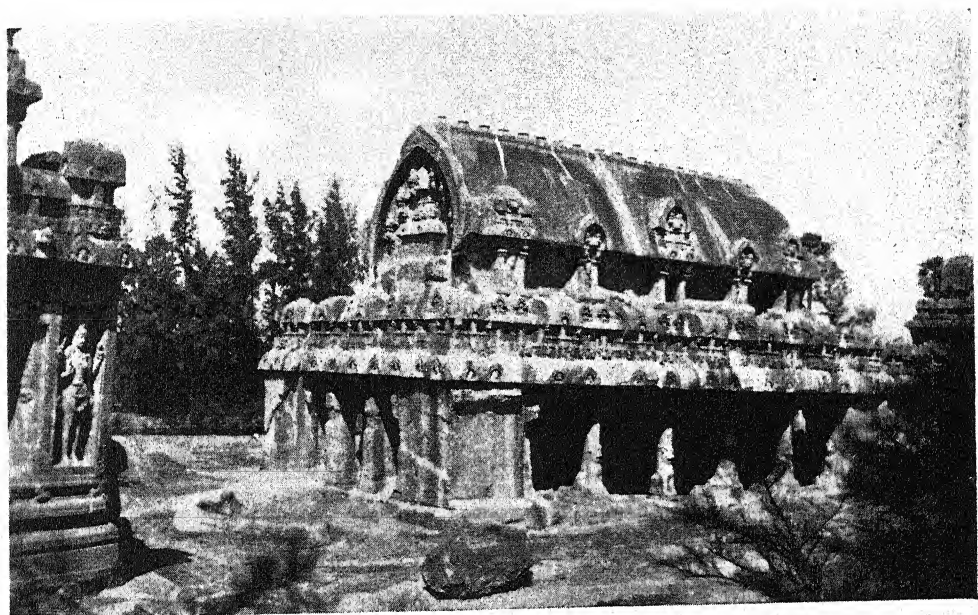


Pl. 17. Kedah Site 4c: after excavation, showing wall foundations constructed of river boulders.

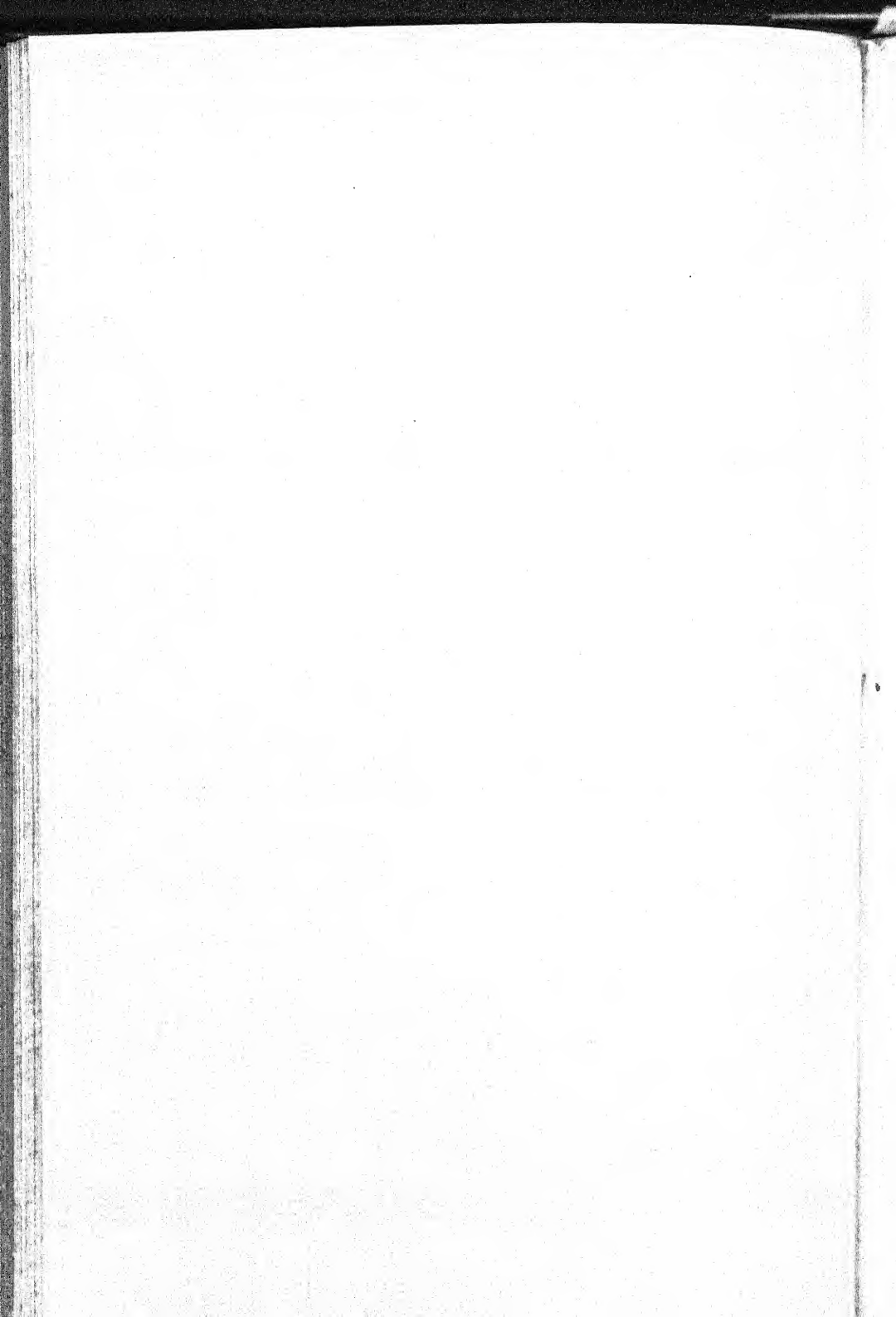


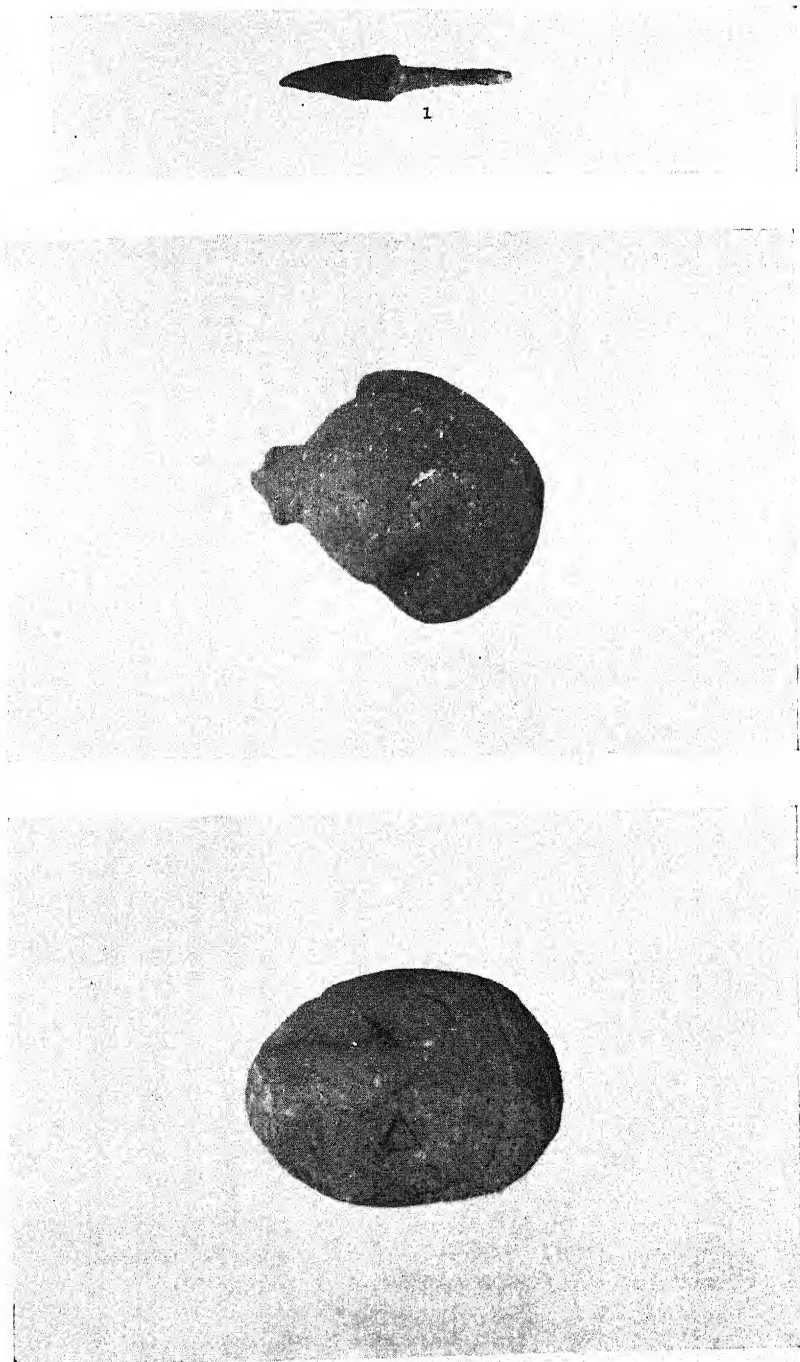


Pl. 18. Roof of miniature bronze shrine, found near Kedah Site 4.



Pl. 19. Bhima *ratha*, Mahābālipuram, S. India.

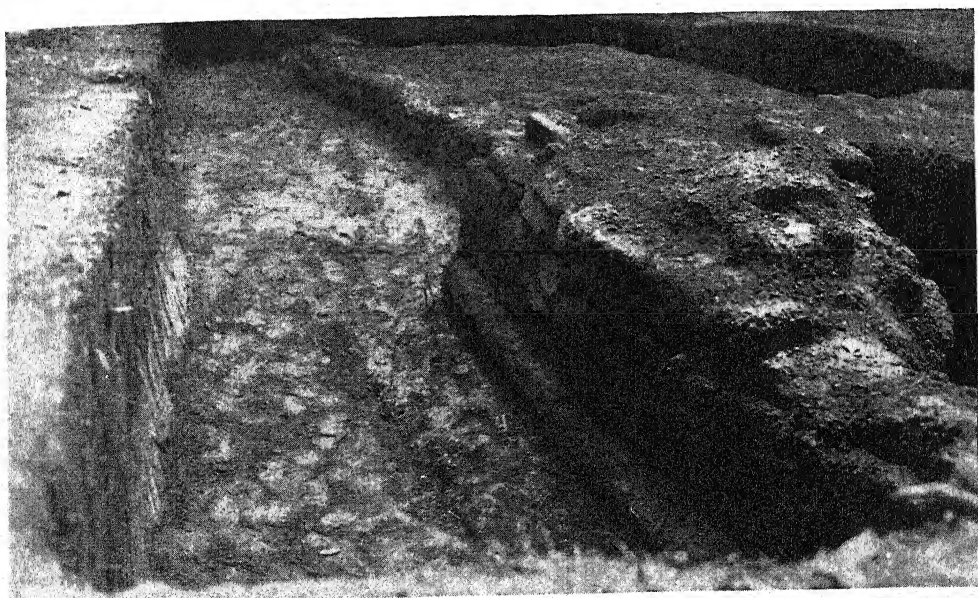




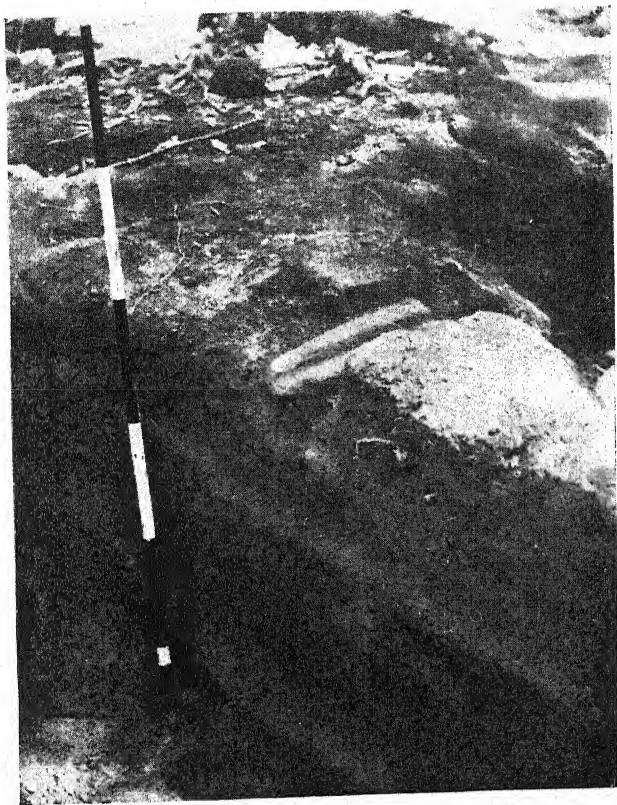
Pl. 20. Kedaň Site 4: (left right) bas-relief of Ganeśa, dipa-piṭha (?), arrow-head.



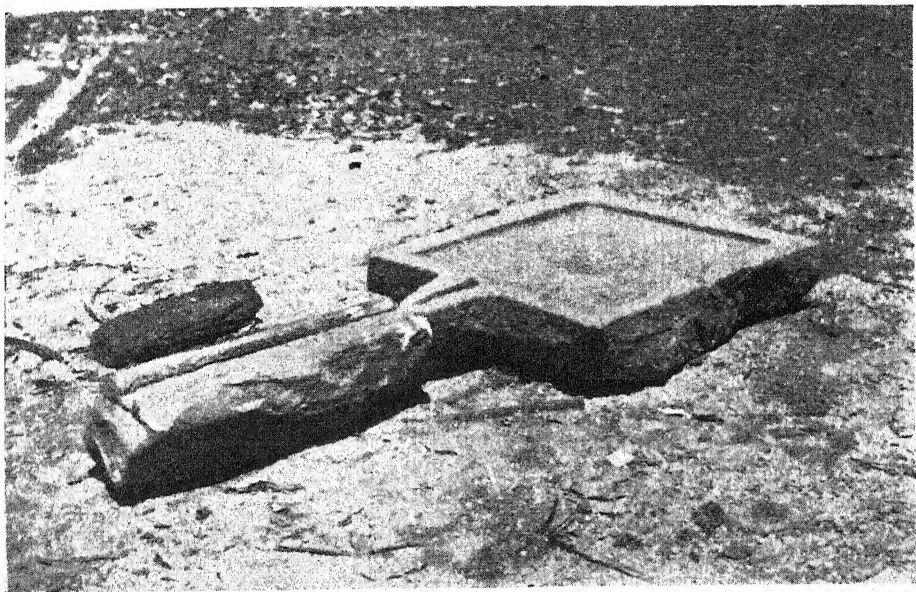
Pl. 21. Kedah Site 5: remains of *vimāna* and *maṇḍapam*-basement from the east.
Note traces of brick pathway towards centre of latter.



Pl. 22. Kedah Site 5: north-west corner of plinth of *vimāna*, with *maṇḍapam*-platform beyond.

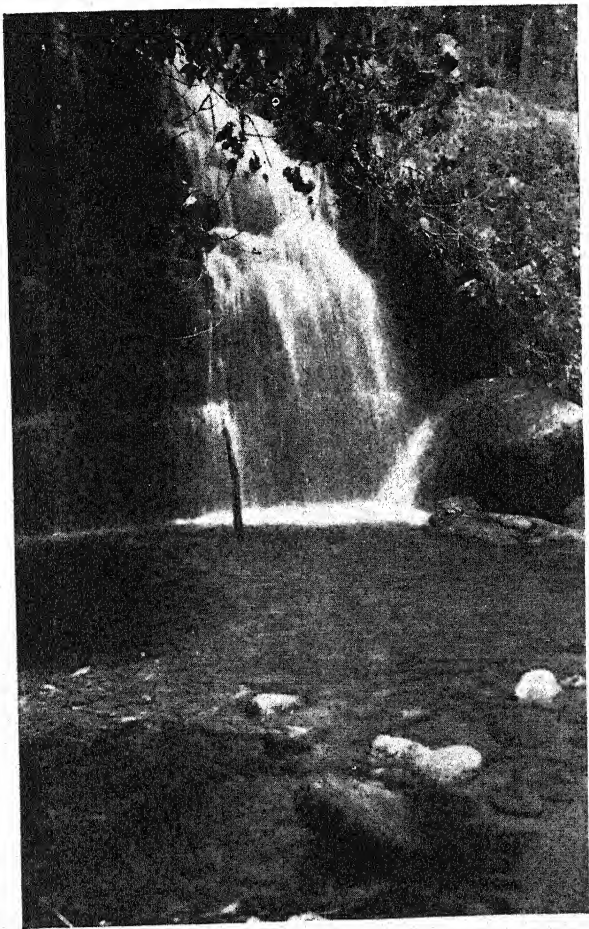


Pl. 23. Kedah Site 5: north face of plinth of *vimāna*,
with *somasūtra* in situ.



Pl. 24. Kedah Site 5: the *snāna-droṇī*, and a section of the *somasūtra* with cover.





Pl. 25. Waterfall near Kedah Site 8.





Pl. 26. Stoneleft in process of extraction, near Kedah
Site 8.



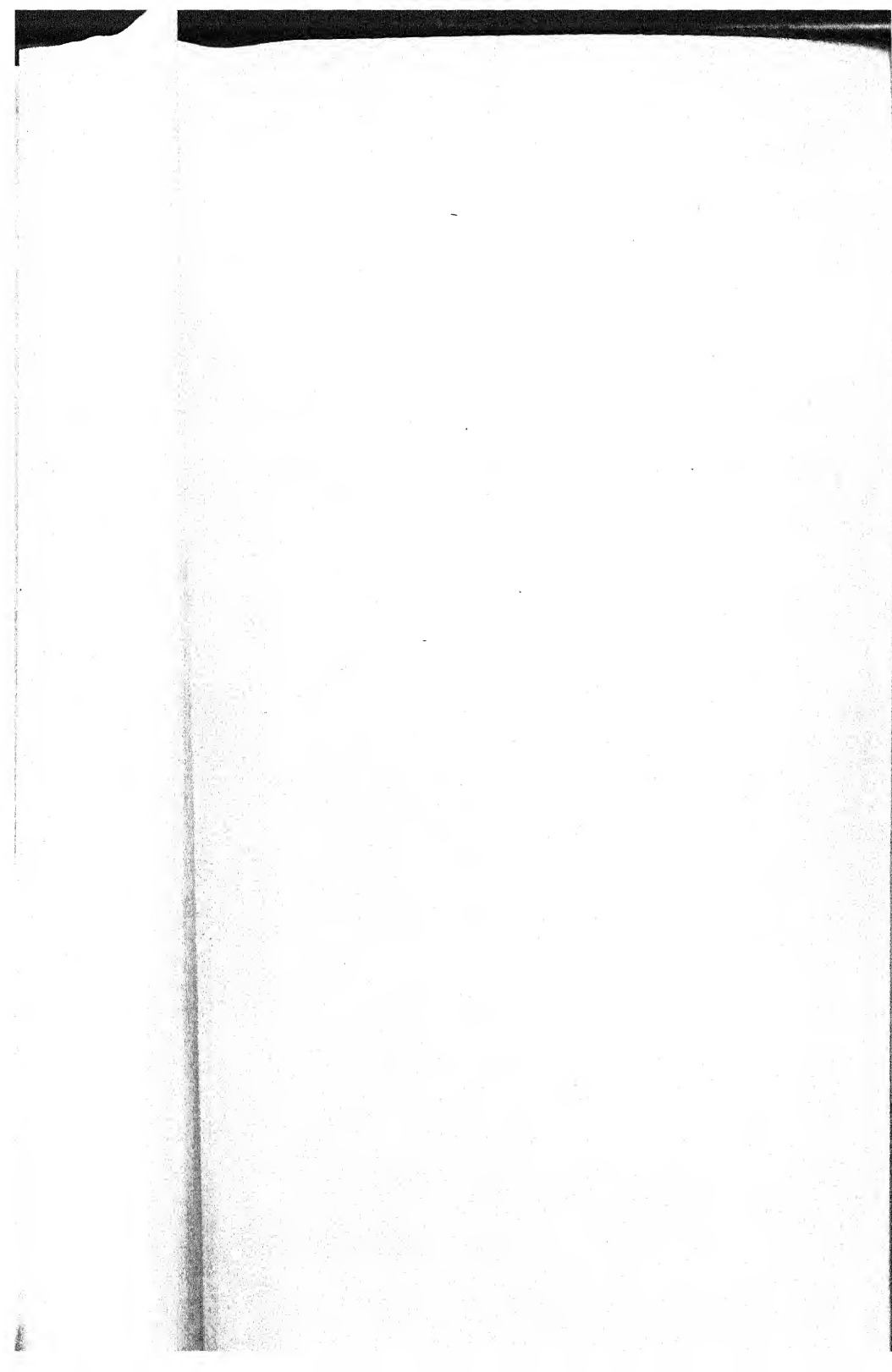


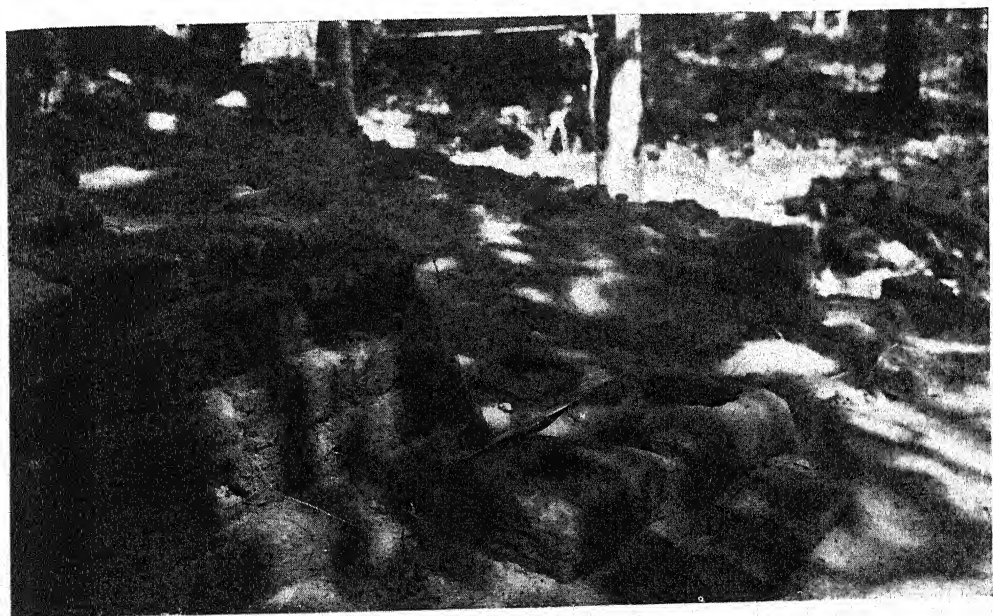
Pl. 27. Kedah Site 8: mound before excavation.





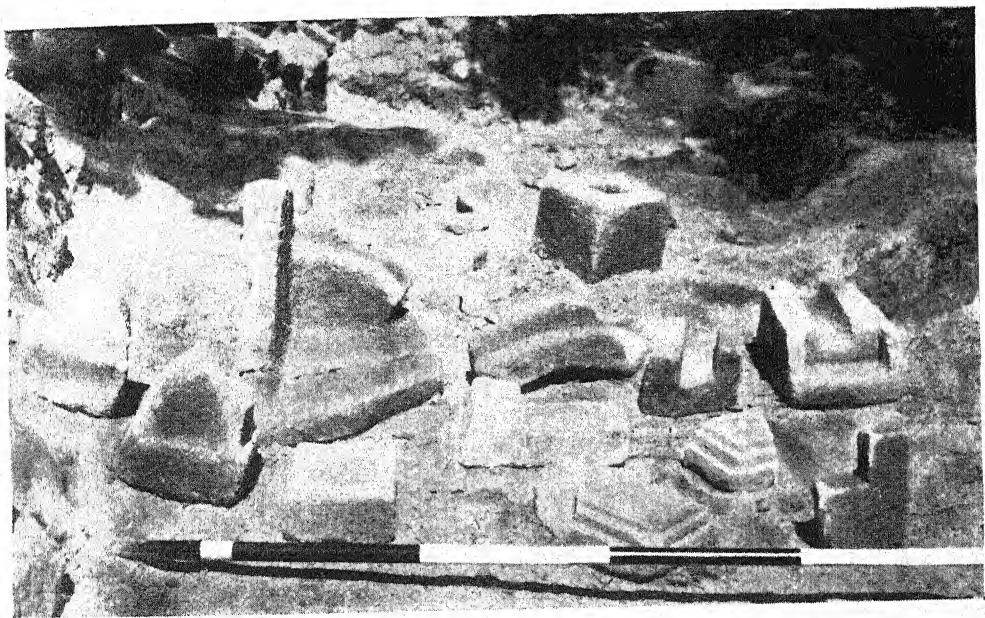
Pl. 28. Kedah Site 8: basement, and strairs leading to *vimāna*.





Pl. 29. Kedah Site 8: east corner of granite plinth of *vimāna* with socles *in situ*.





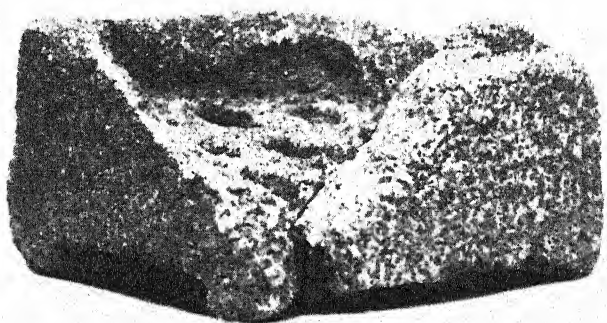
Pl. 30. Kedah Site 8: fragments of stone mouldings etc., and sections of the *somasūtra*.





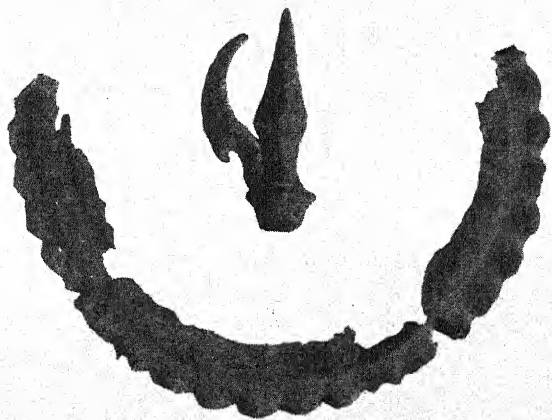
Pl. 31. Kedah Site 8: large curvilinear stone, possibly the finial of the *vimāna*.





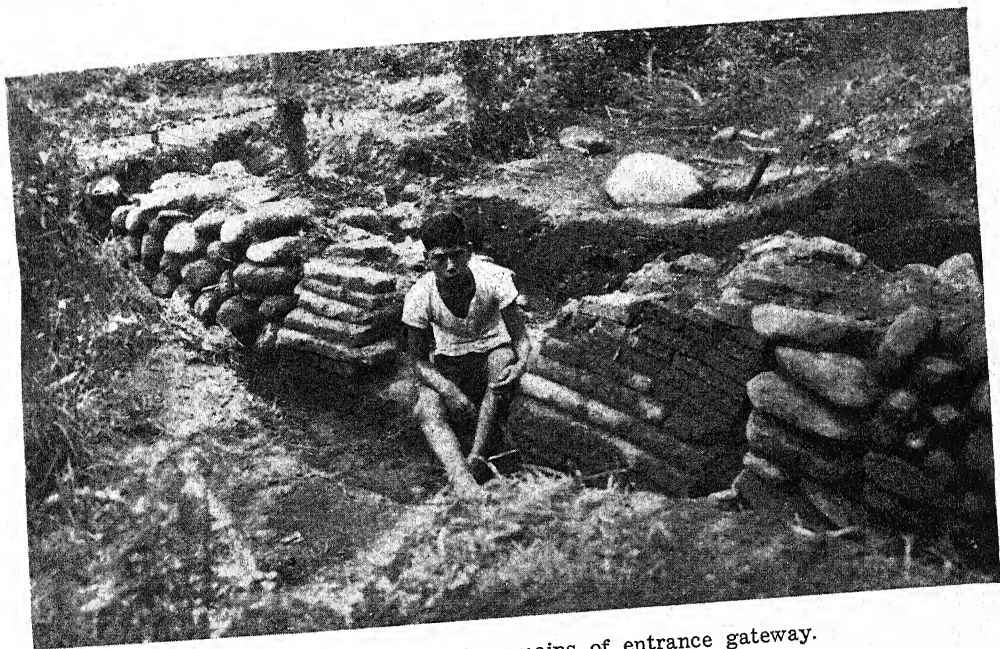
Pl. 32. Kedah Site 8: A nine-chambered reliquary.



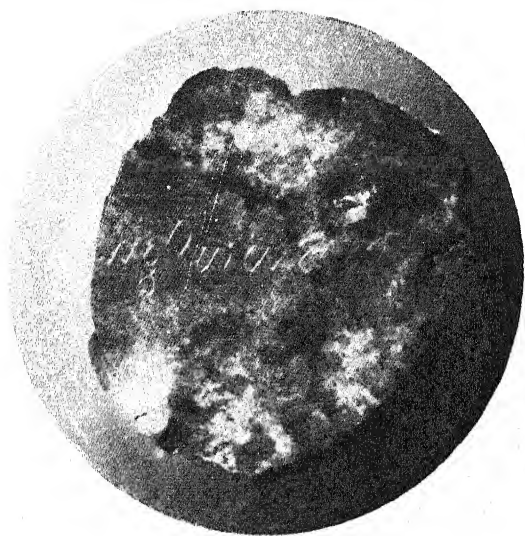


Pl. 33. Kedah Site 8: fragments of bronze base and trident of a
Śiva image.

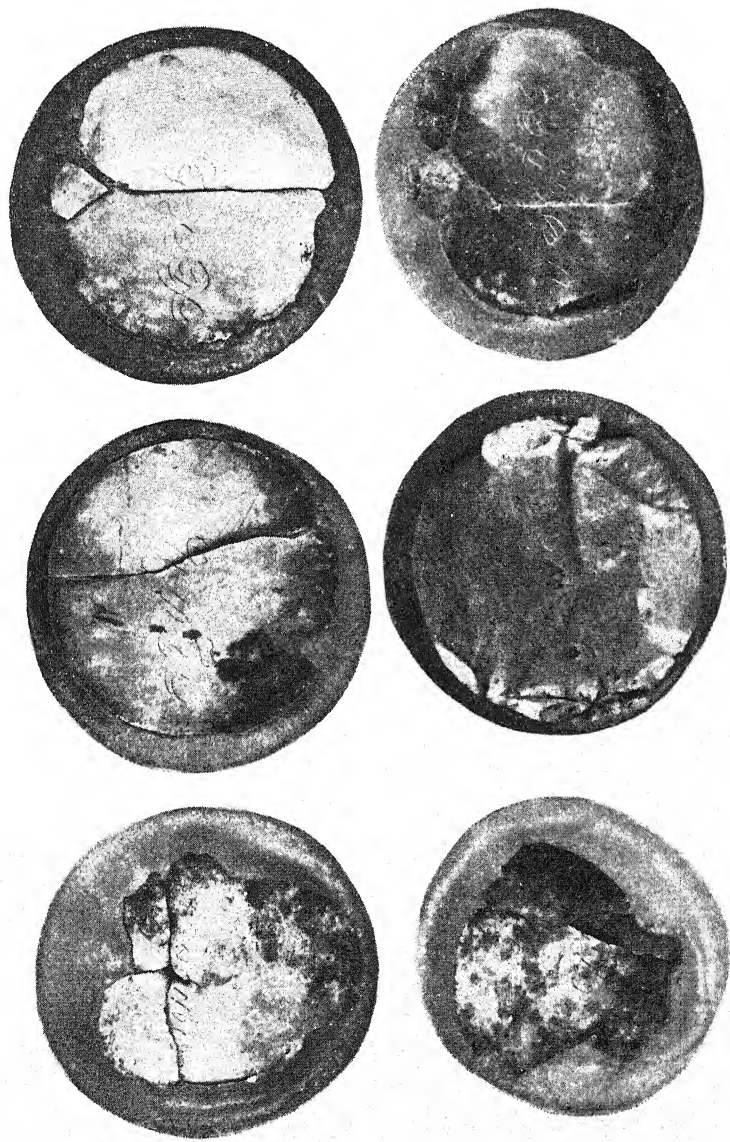




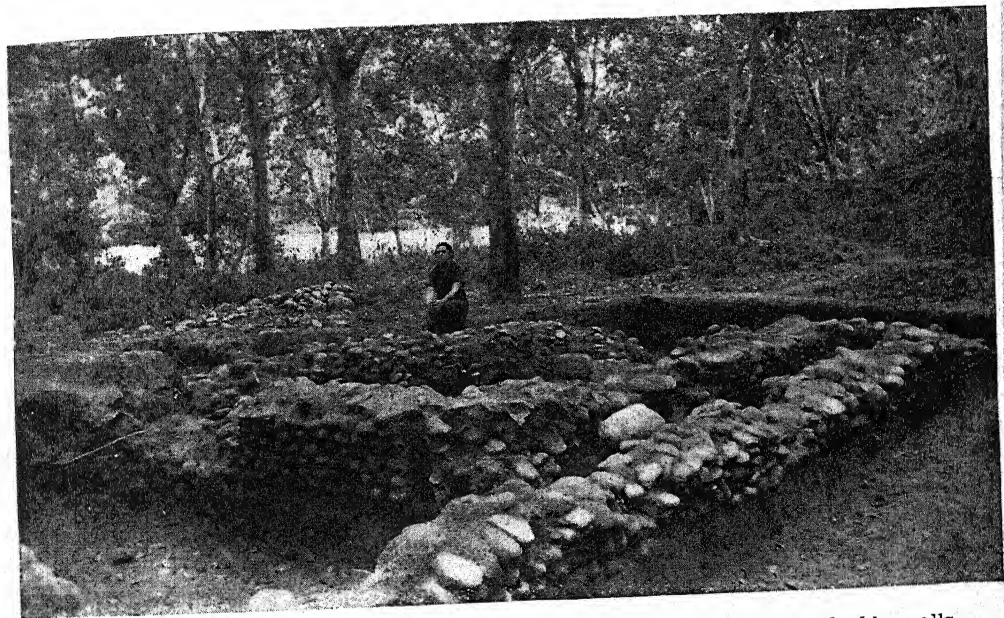
Pl. 34. Kedah Site 10: remains of entrance gateway.



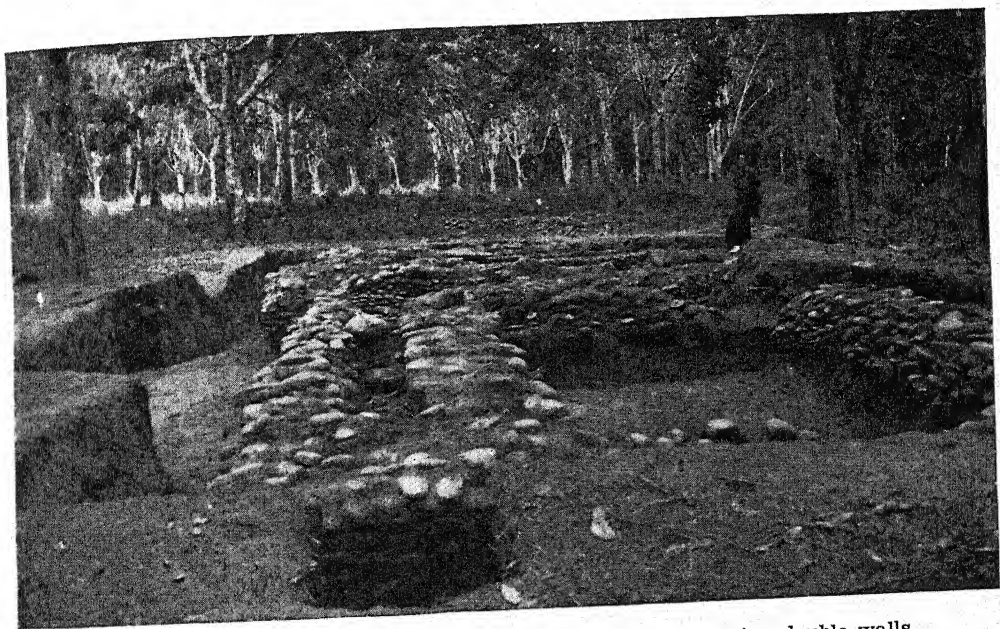
Pl. 35. Kedah Site 10: inscribed disc No. 1.



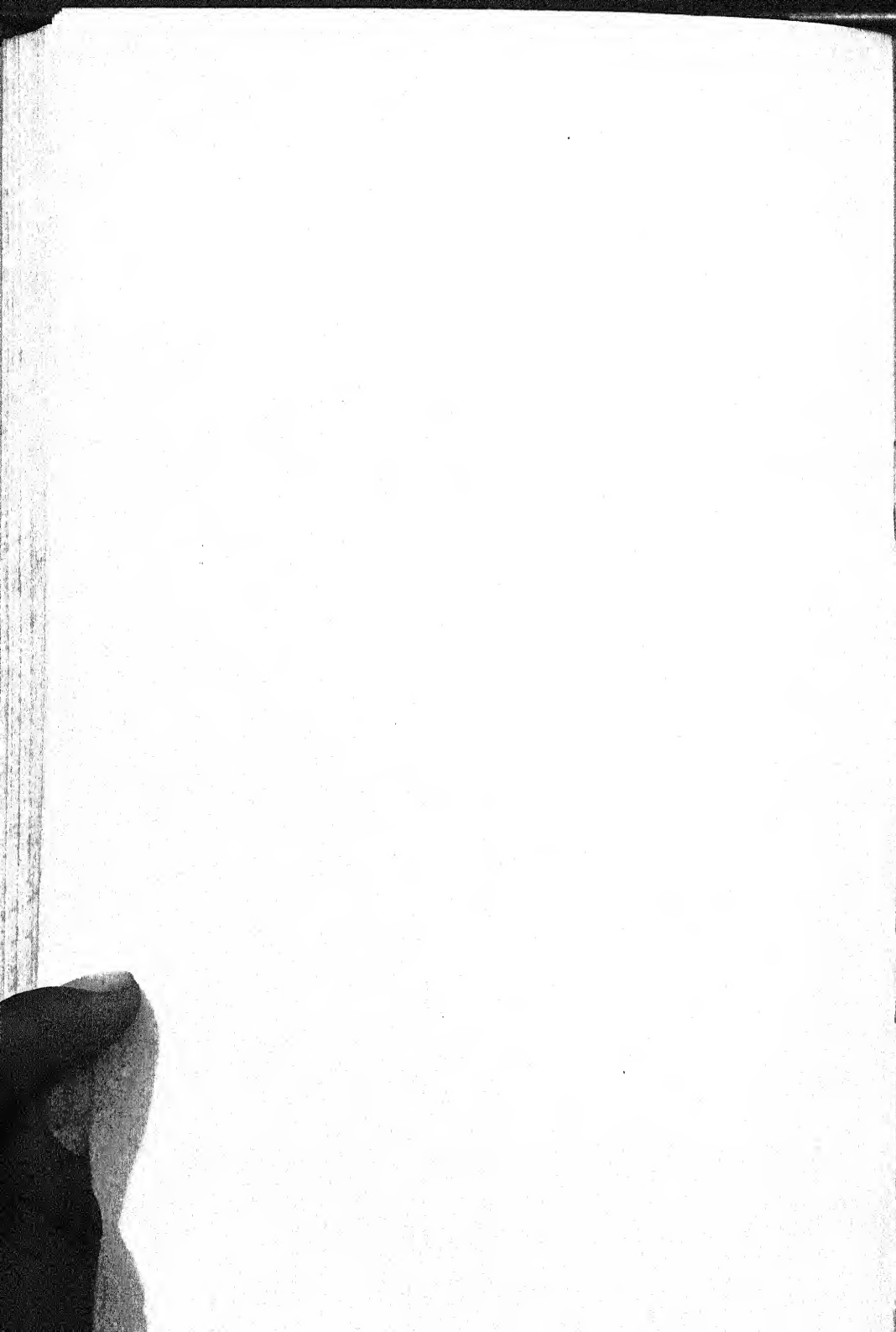
Pl. 36. Kedah Site 10: inscribed discs Nos. 2-7.

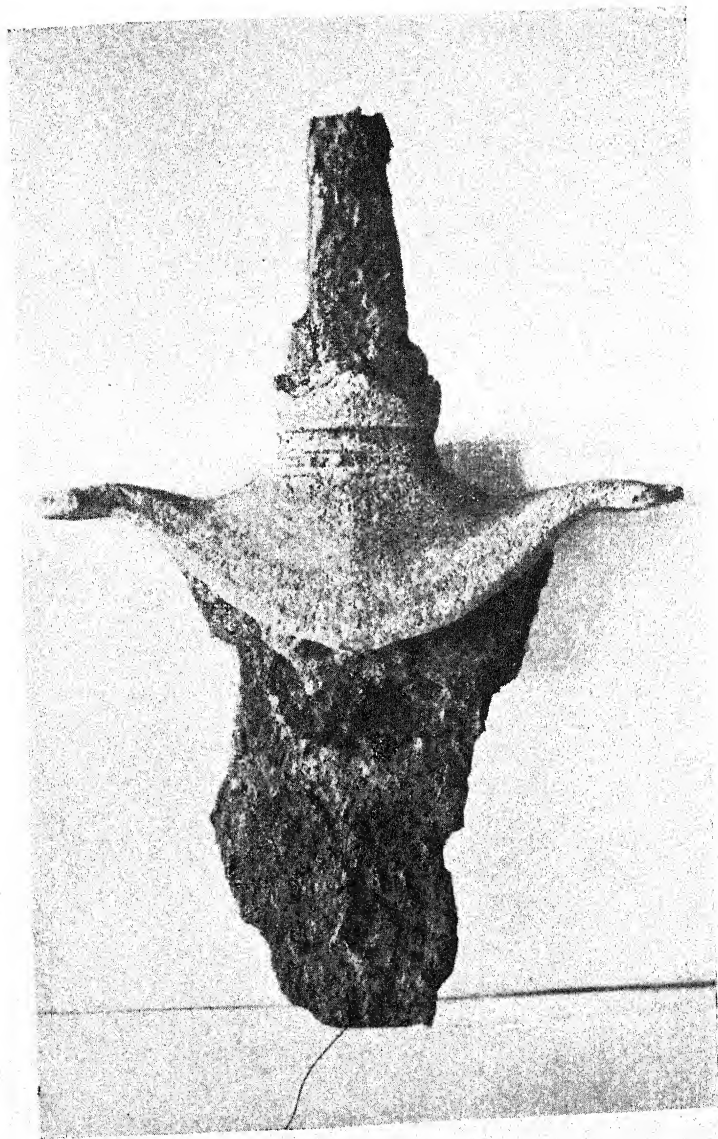


Pl. 37. Kedah Site 11: the antechamber from the south-west, showing double walls.

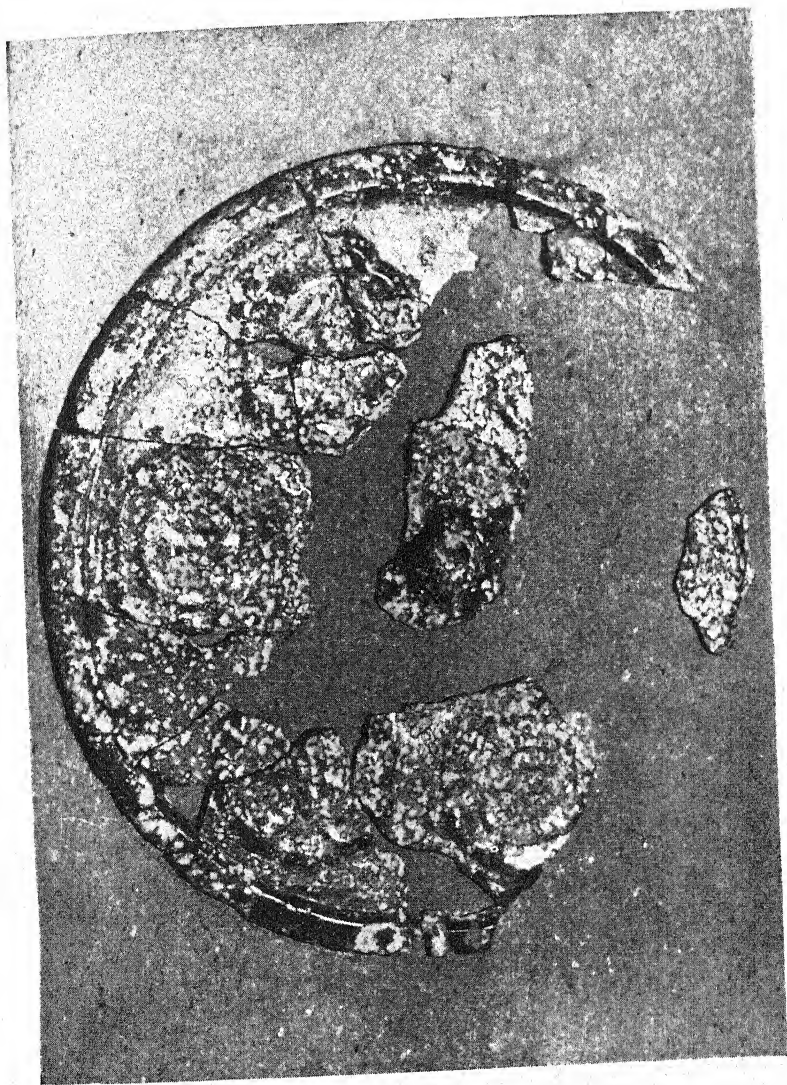


Pl. 38. Kedah Site 11: the antechamber from the east, showing double walls.

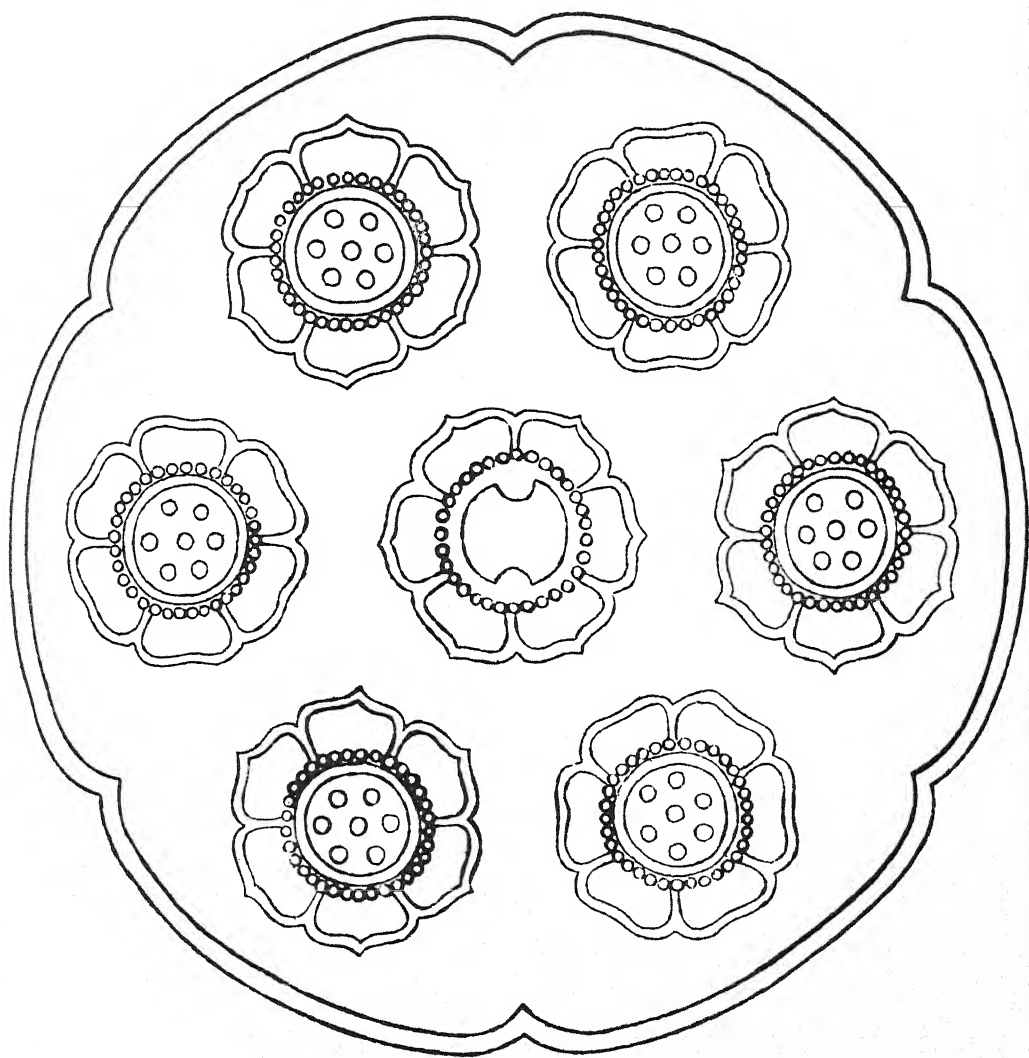




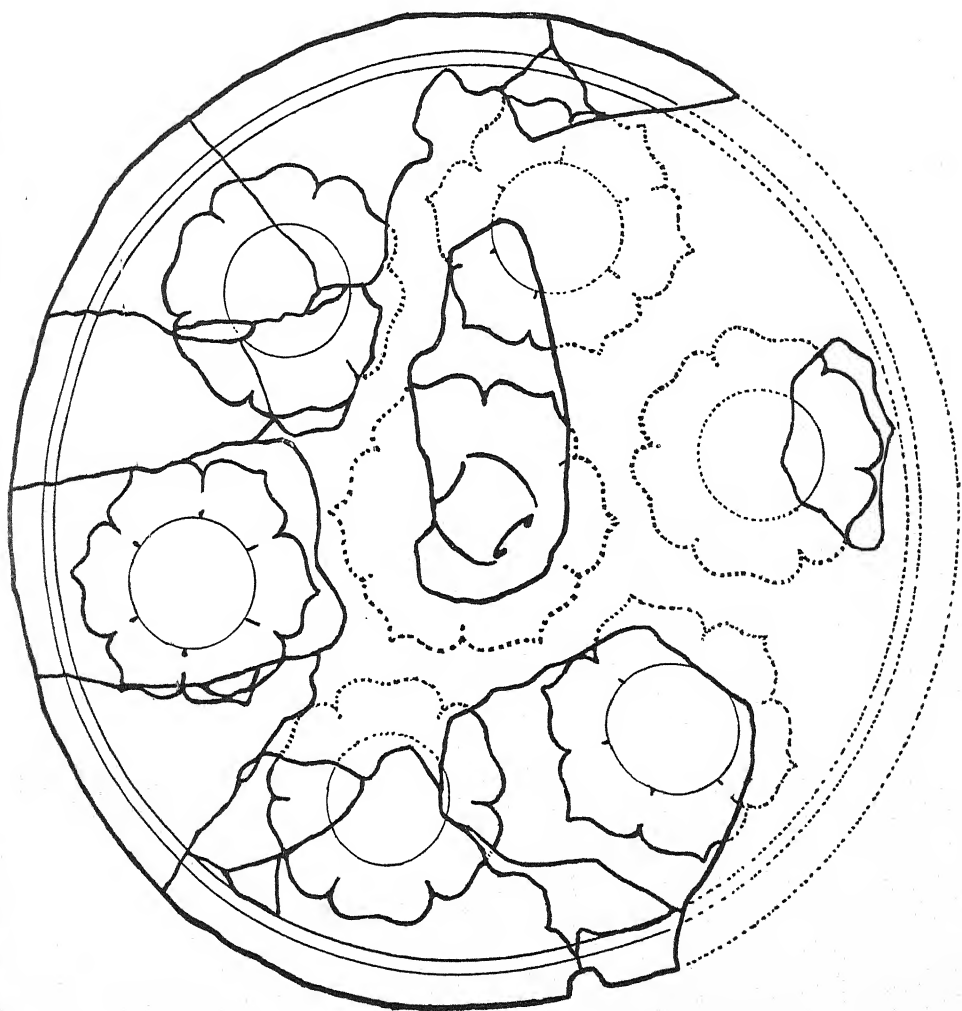
Pl. 39. Kedah Site 12: dagger with bronze hilt.



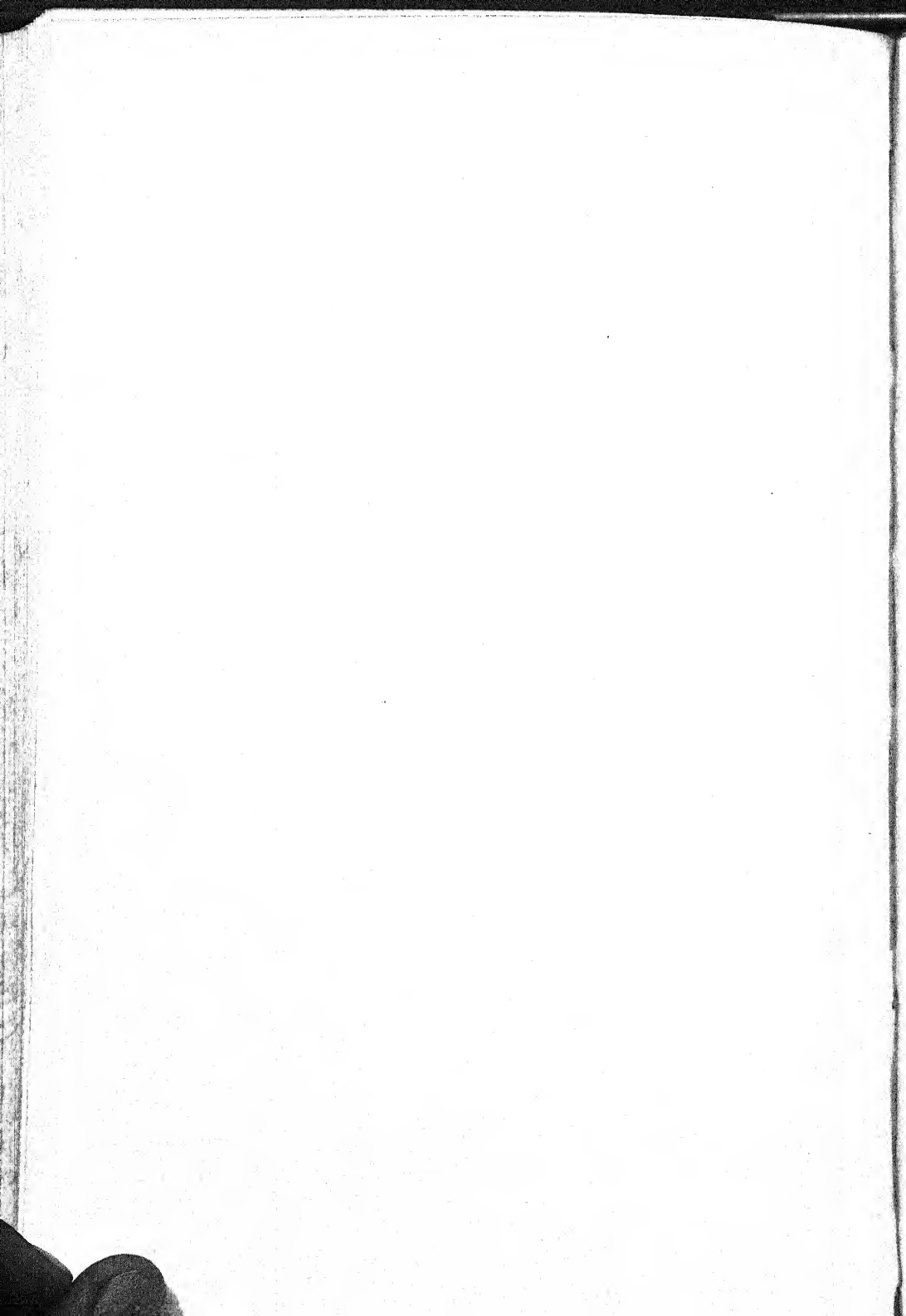
Pl. 40. Kedah Site 12: partially restored Chinese mirror.

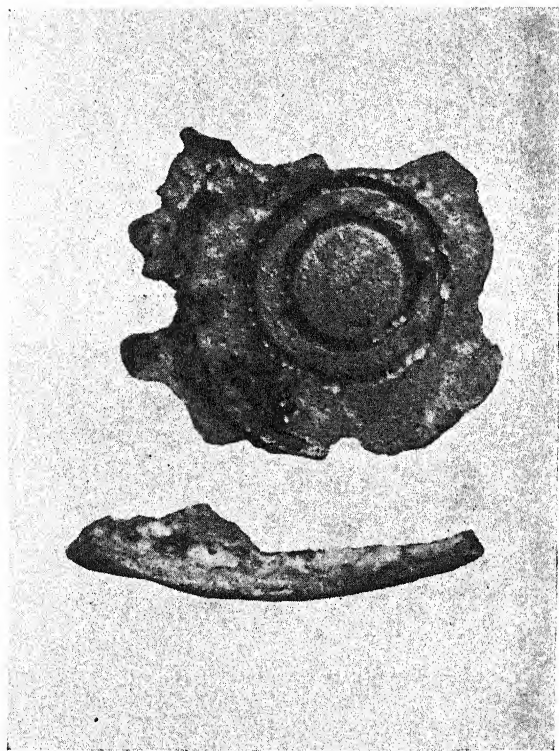


Pl. 41. A pao hsiang hua mirror in *Hsi-ch'ing ku chien*, XL, 66.

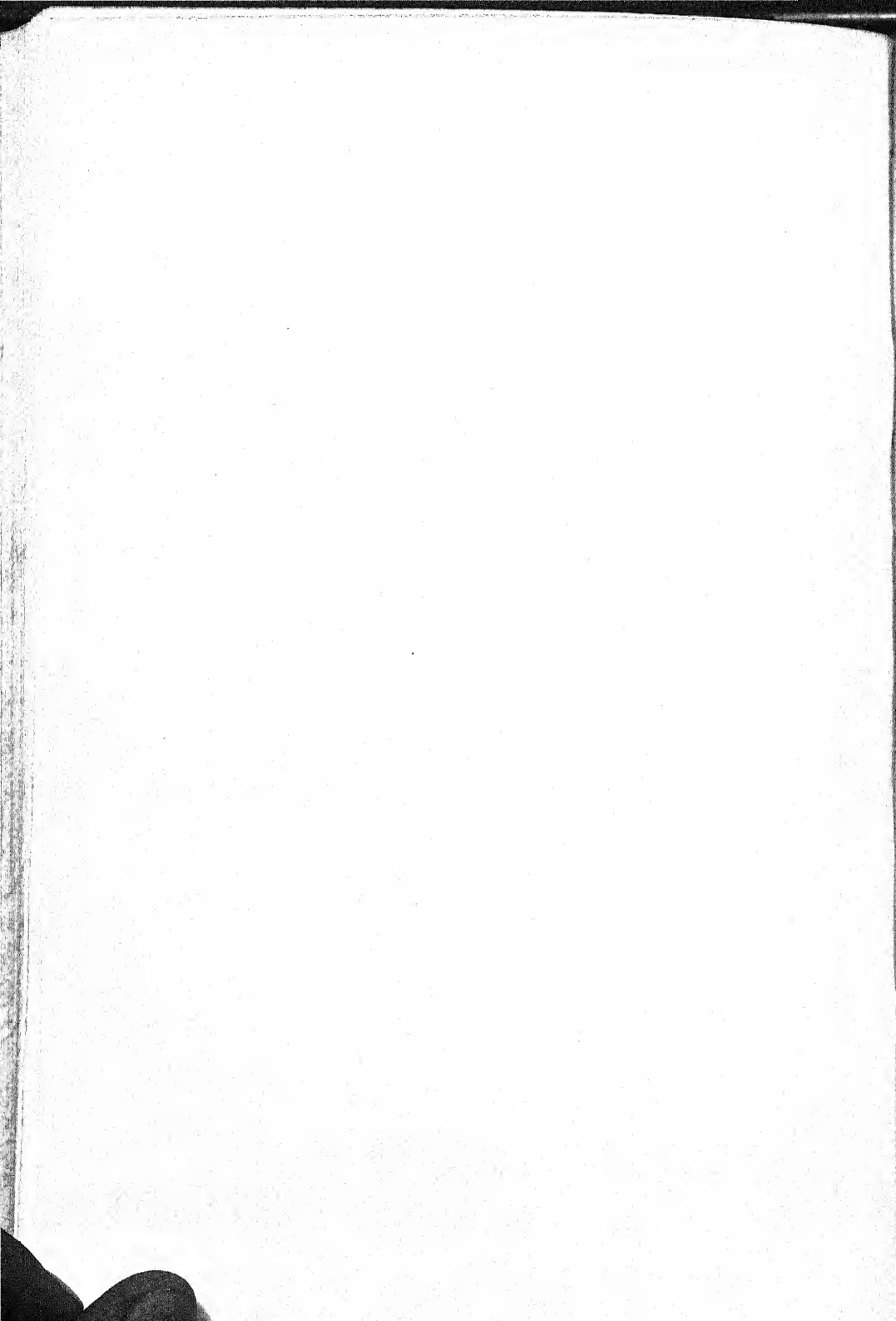


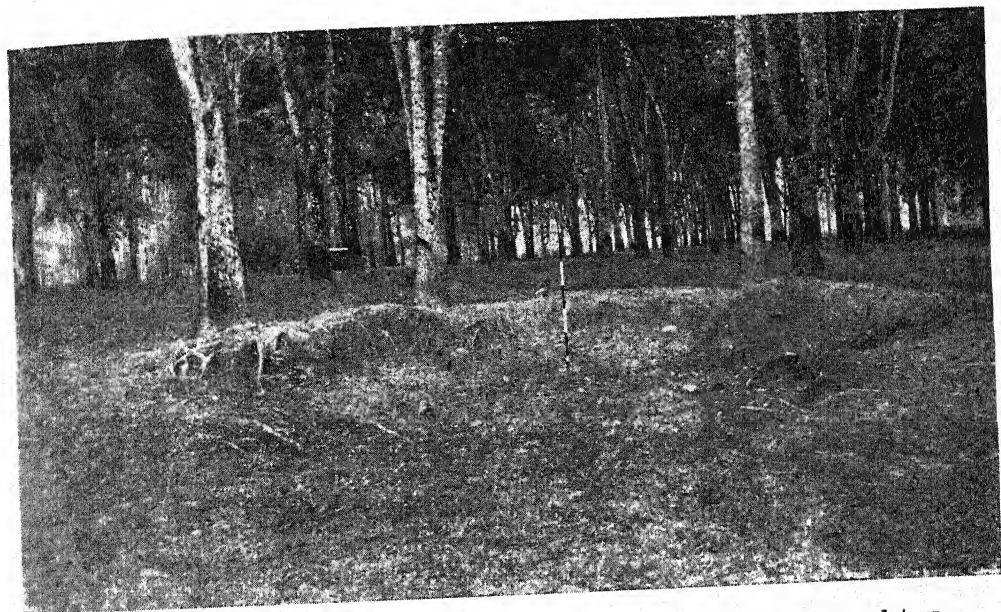
Pl. 42. A partial reconstruction of the Kedah mirror shown in Pl. 40.



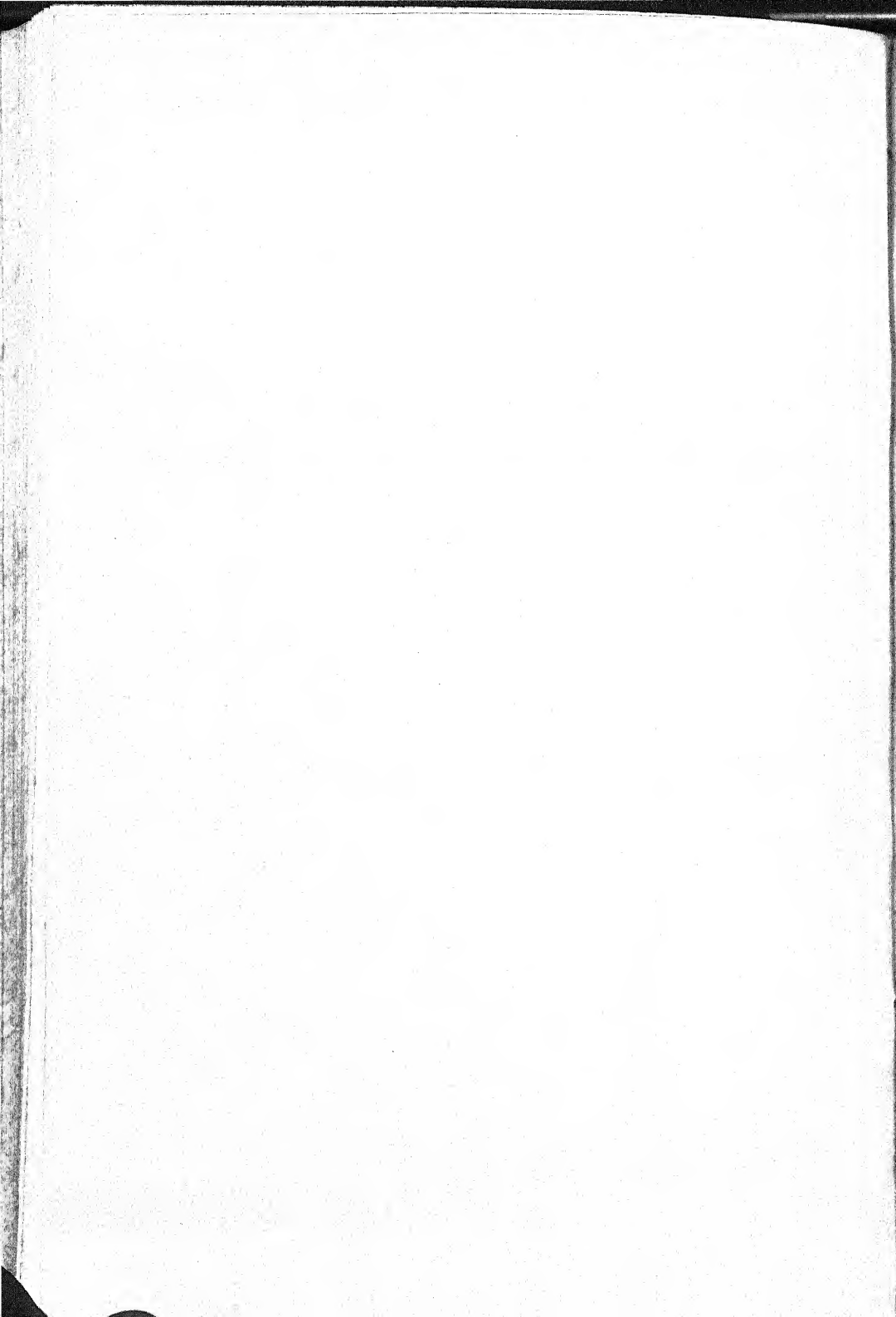


Pl. 43. Kedah Site 12: fragments of second Chinese mirror.



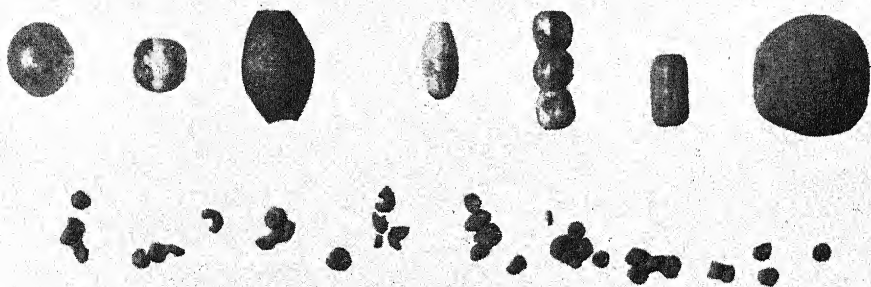


Pl. 44. Kedah Site 13, before excavation, showing pit left by local depredators.



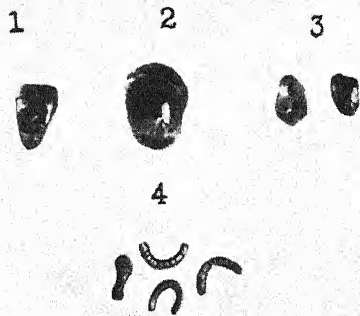


Pl. 45. Kedah Site 13, after excavation, showing remains of brick sanctuary and two of the deposit jars *in situ*.

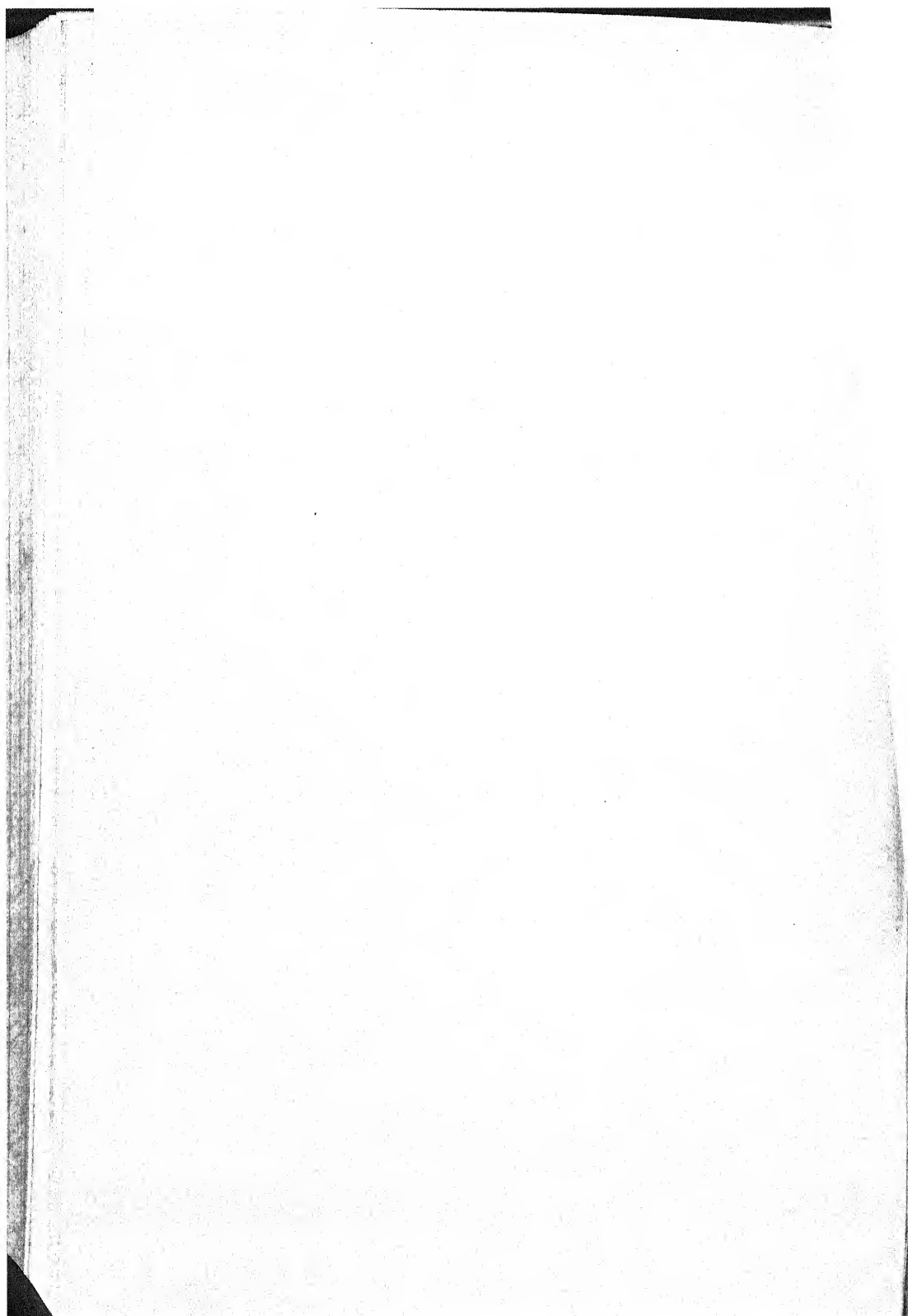


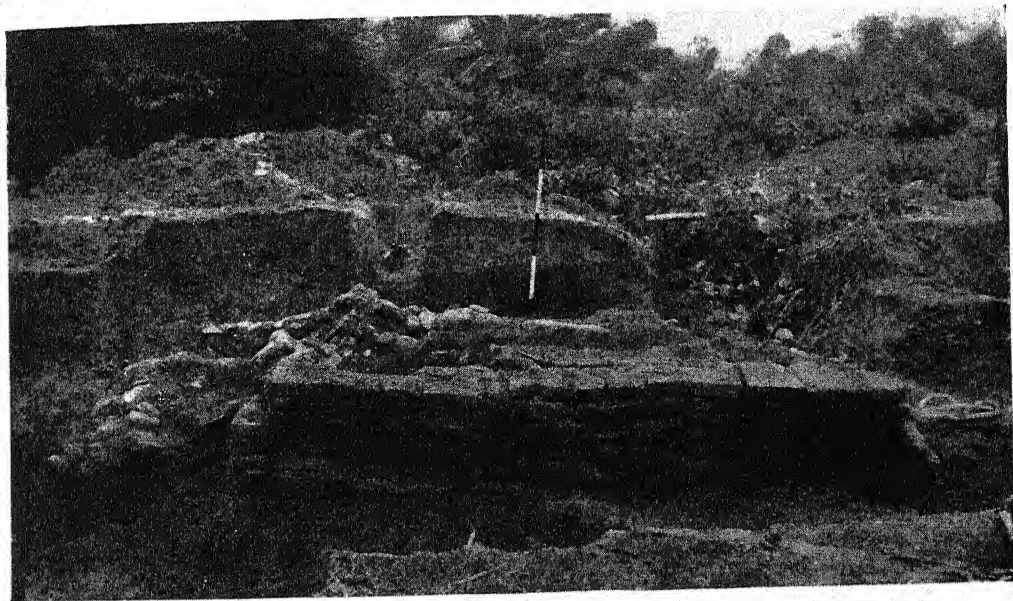
Pl. 46. Glass beads from deposit jars, all from Kedah Site 13 (except quartz on extreme left of top row which is from Site 14). Remainder are *top row*, (left to right) type 10, type 2, type 4, type 3, type 5, type 1; *lower row*, types 6, 7, 8 & 9 mixed (see page 30).



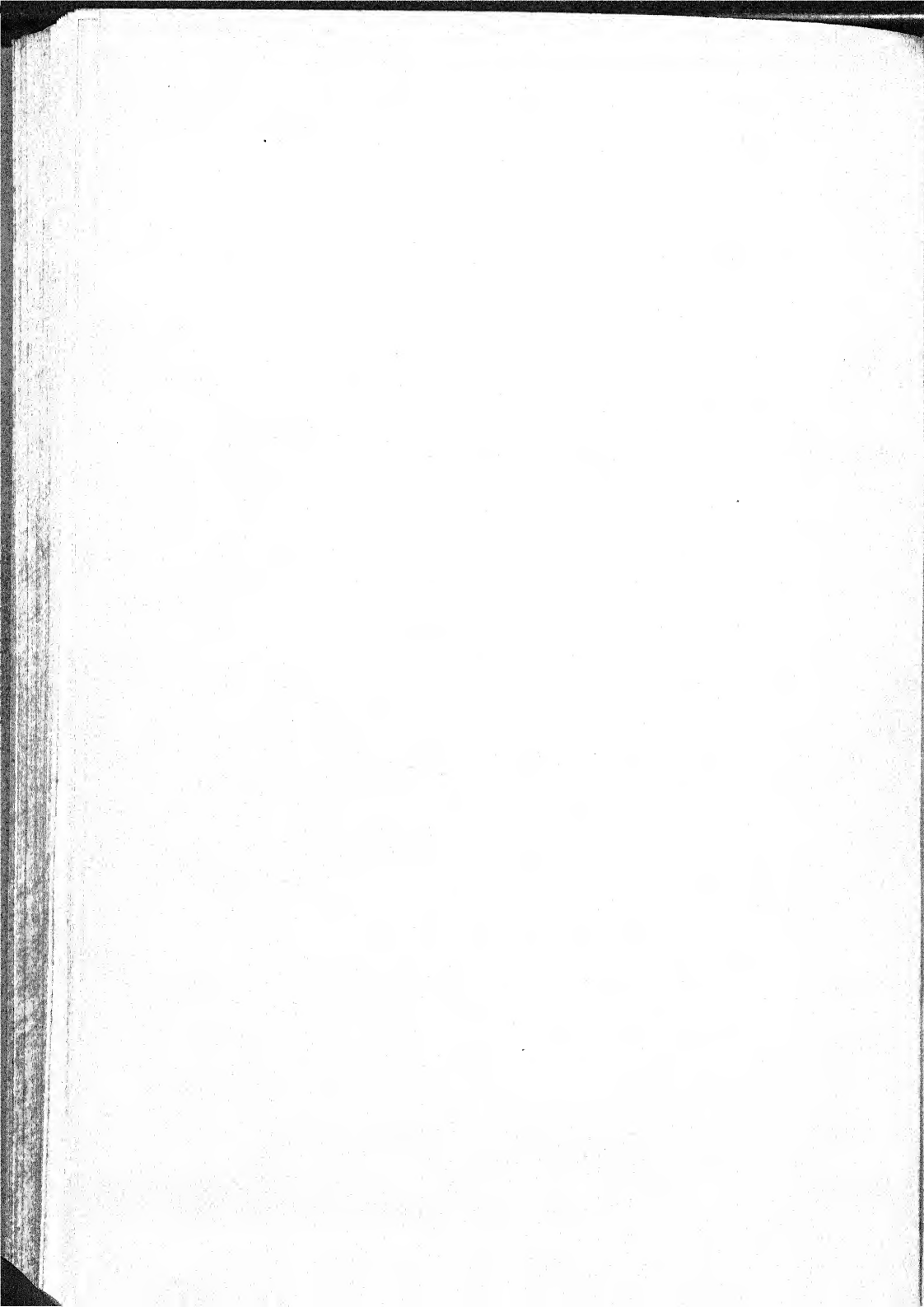


Pl. 47. Gems and gold: (1) sapphire from Kedah Site 13; (2) amethystine quartz from Site 14; (3) sapphire and pyrope from Site 8; (4) gold fragments from Site 13.



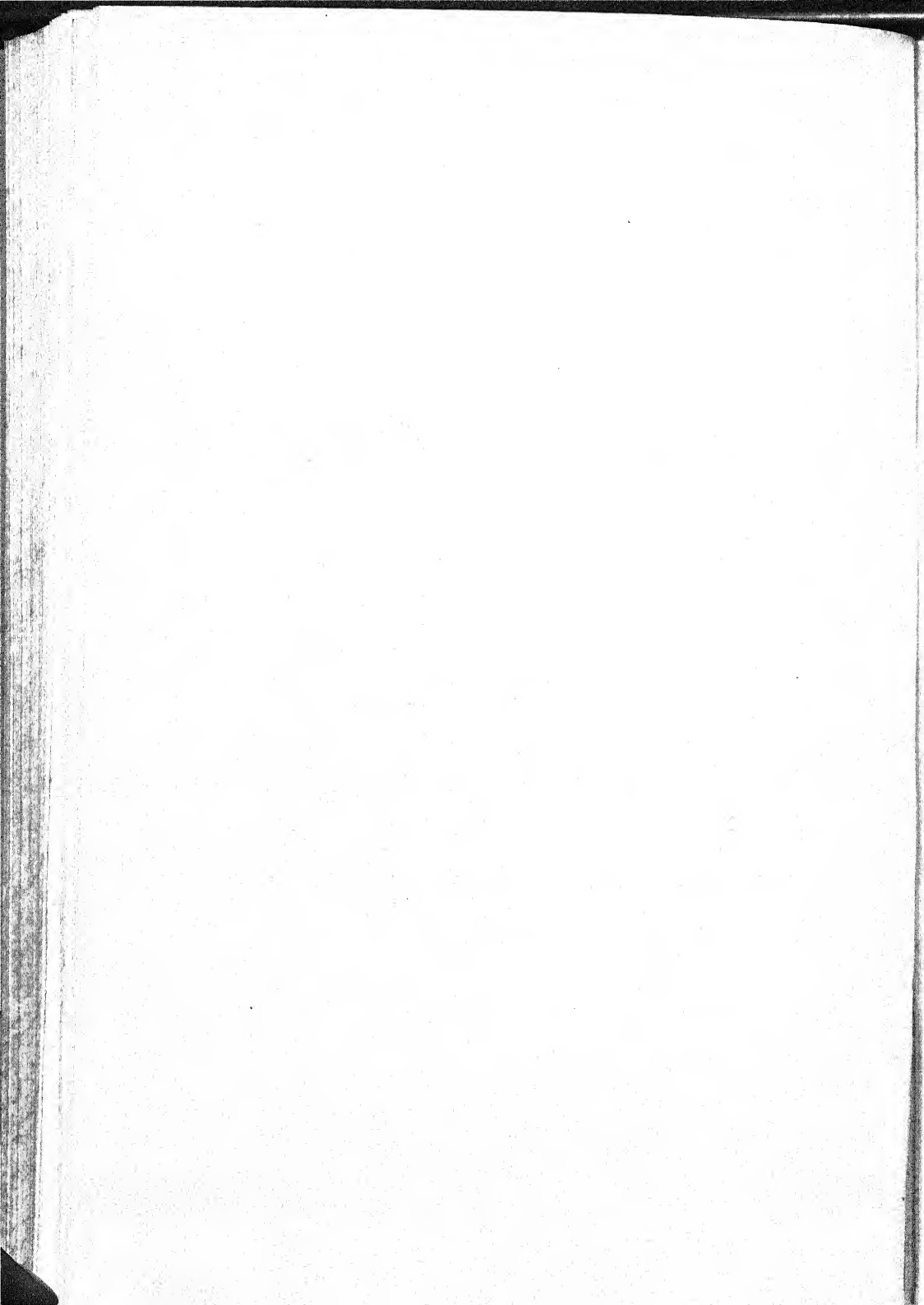


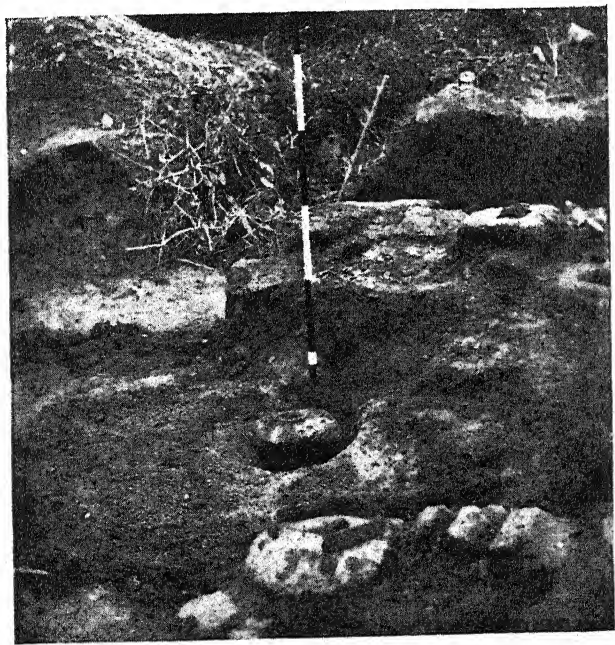
Pl. 48. Kedah Site 14, from the south.



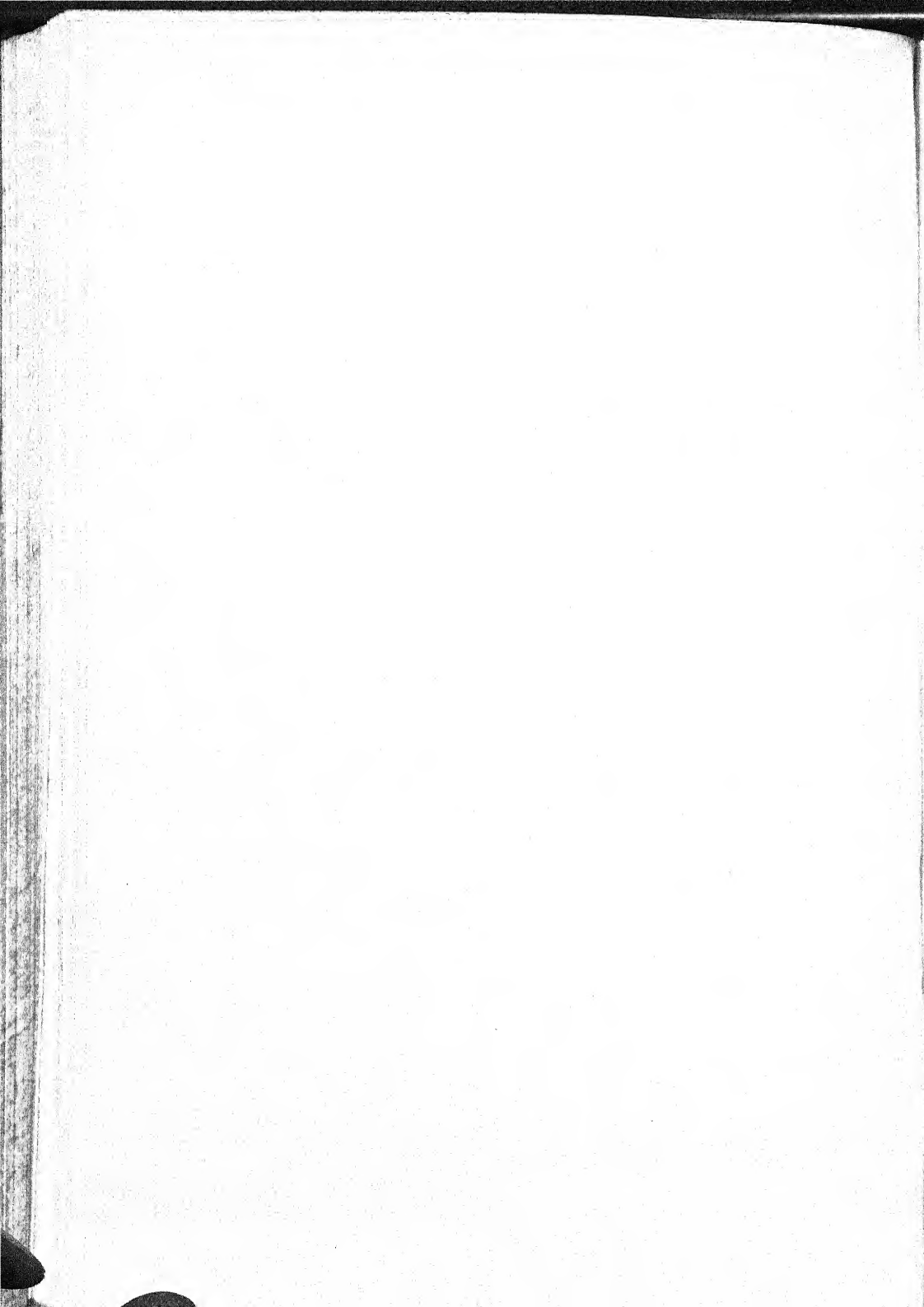


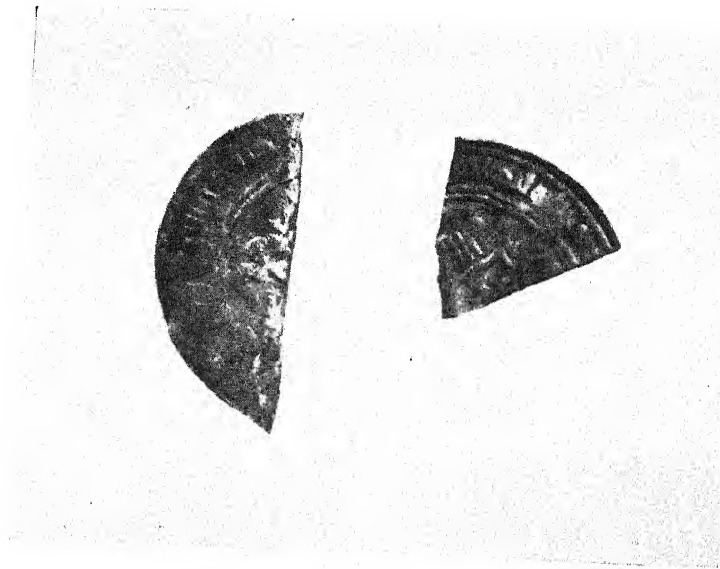
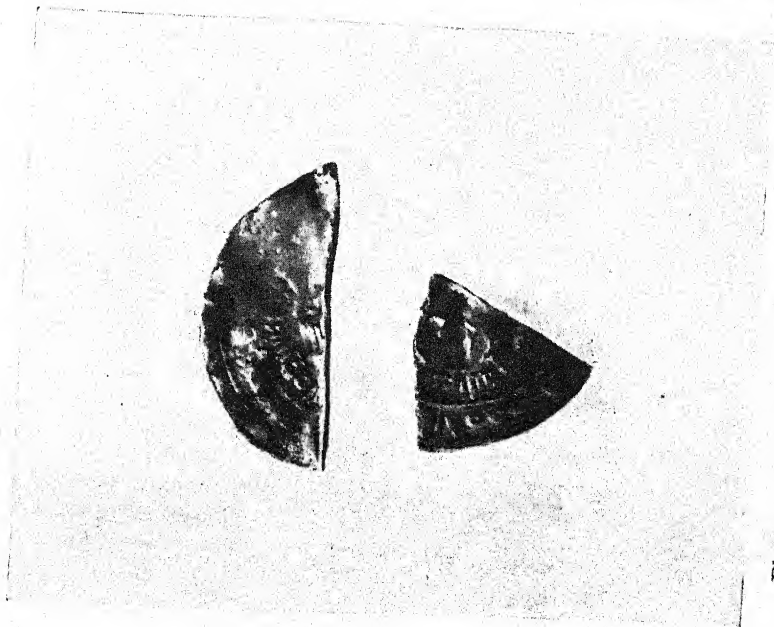
Pl. 49. Kedah Site 14, from the west.



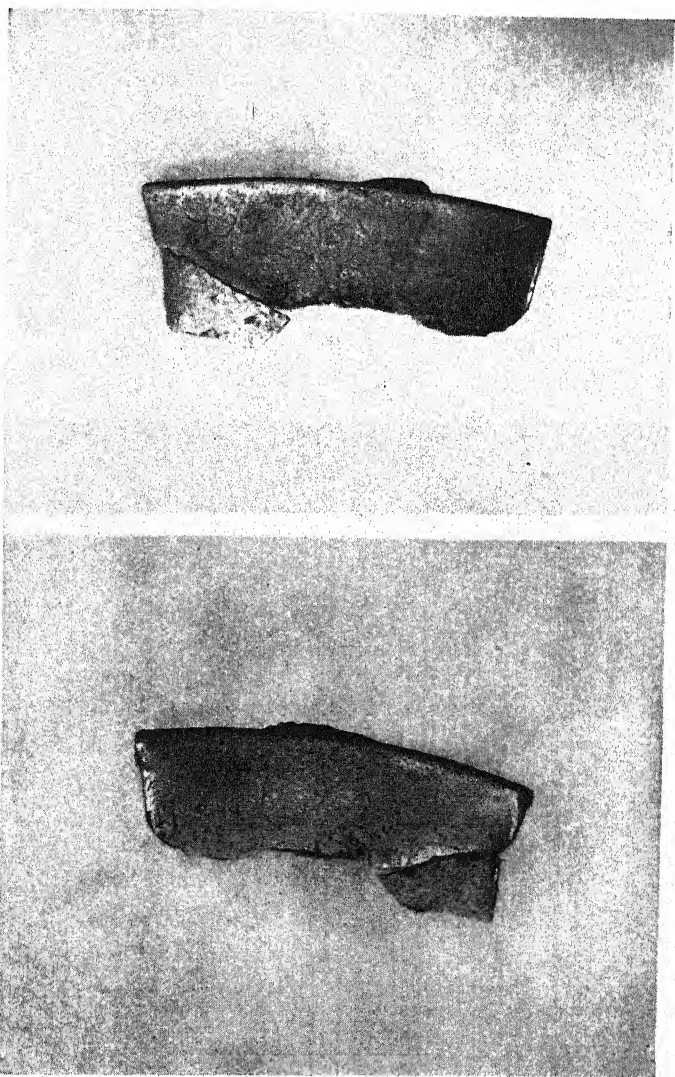


Pl. 50. Kedah Site 14: one earthenware jar *in situ* beneath floor level and, in the foreground, a stone socle with iron ring.





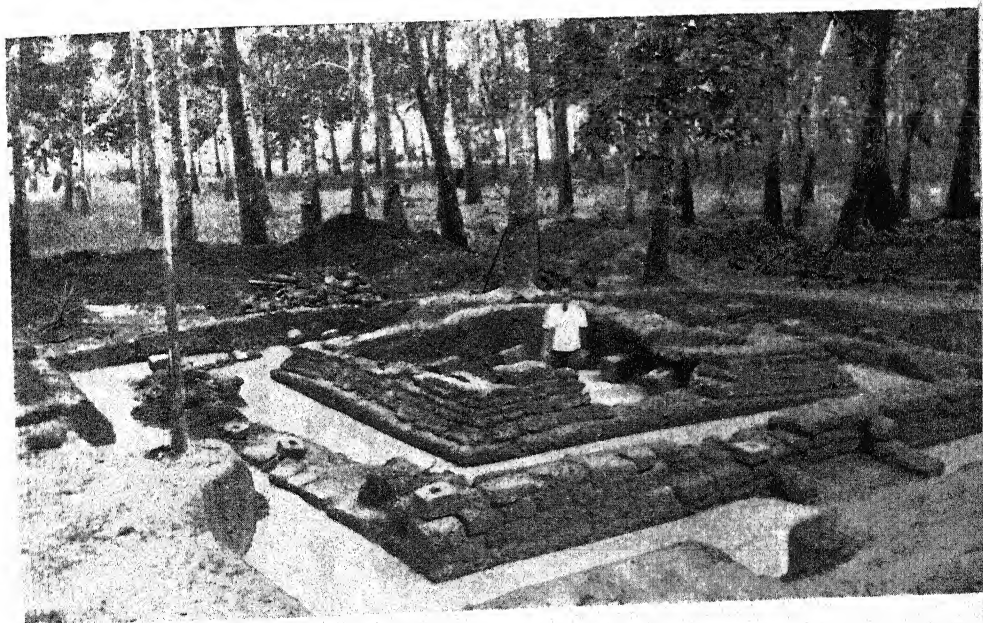
Pl. 51. Kedah Site 14: Half & quarter Arab dirhems, the former dated 234 A.H. = 848 A.D.



Pl. 52. Kedah Site 14: Inscription on silver.



Pl. 53. Kedah Site 15, mound before excavation.



Pl. 54. Kedah Site 15, from the south-east.



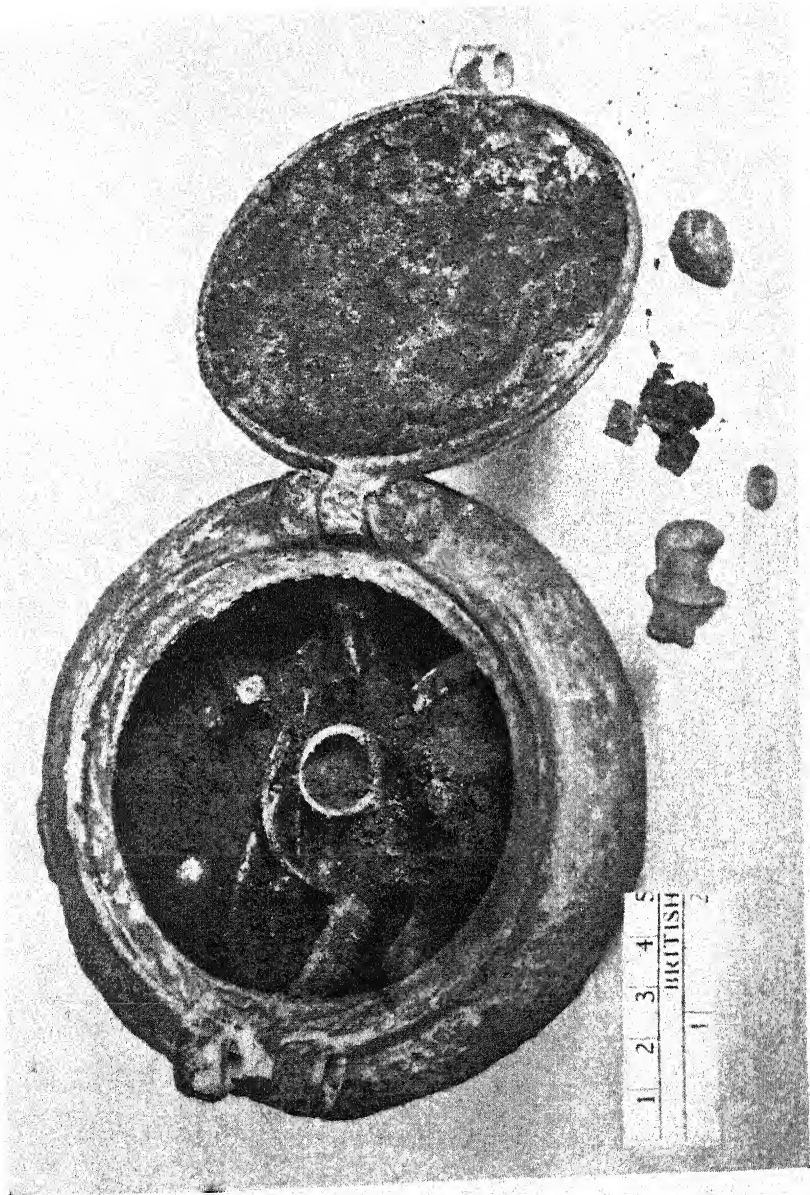
Pl. 55. Kedah Site 15, detail of construction.



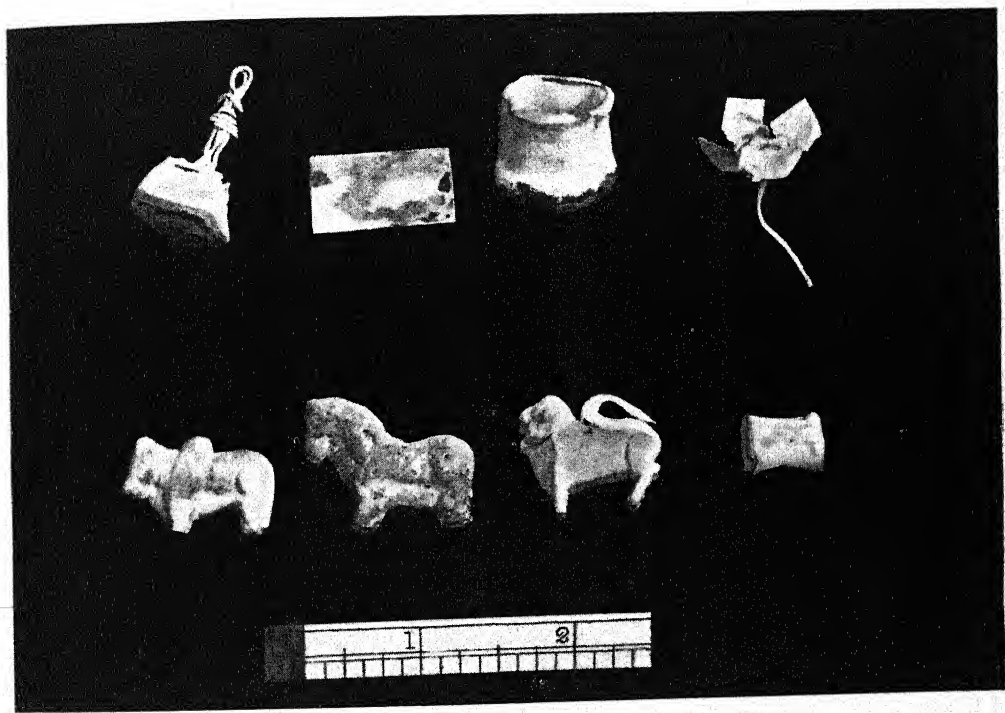
Pl. 56. Kedah Site 15: upper portion of earthenware jar.



Pl. 57. Kedah Site 16: Bronze casket containing foundation deposits.

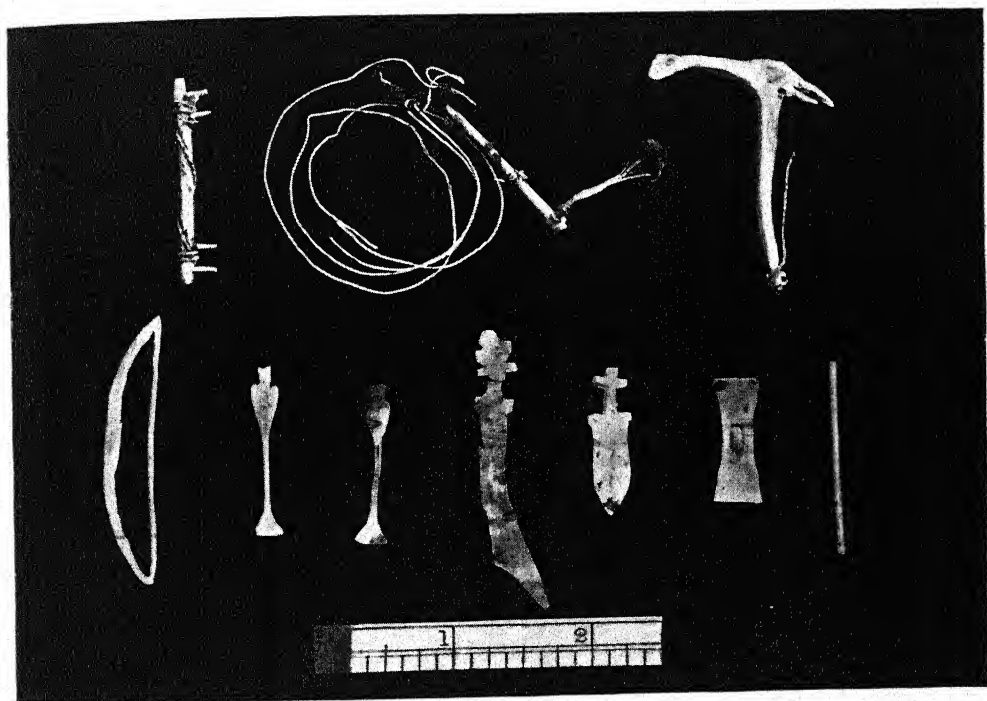


Pl. 58. Kedah Site 16: The bronze casket opened, showing the central golden bowl and other objects still
in situ amongst the earth, the bull, lotus and two gems having been removed.

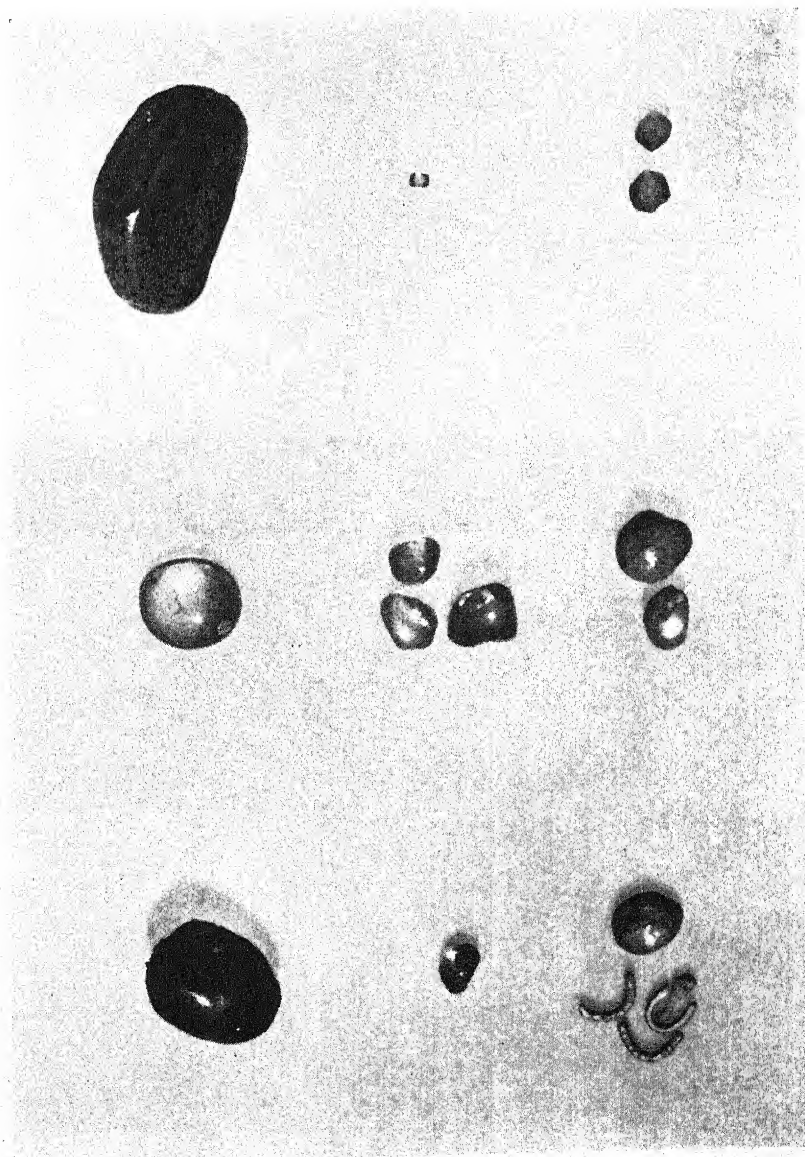


Pl. 59. Kedah Site 16. Objects contained in the bronze casket; *upper row* (left to right), silver bell or seal, gold book?, golden bowl, golden lotus; *lower row*, silver bull, copper horse, golden lion, golden drum.



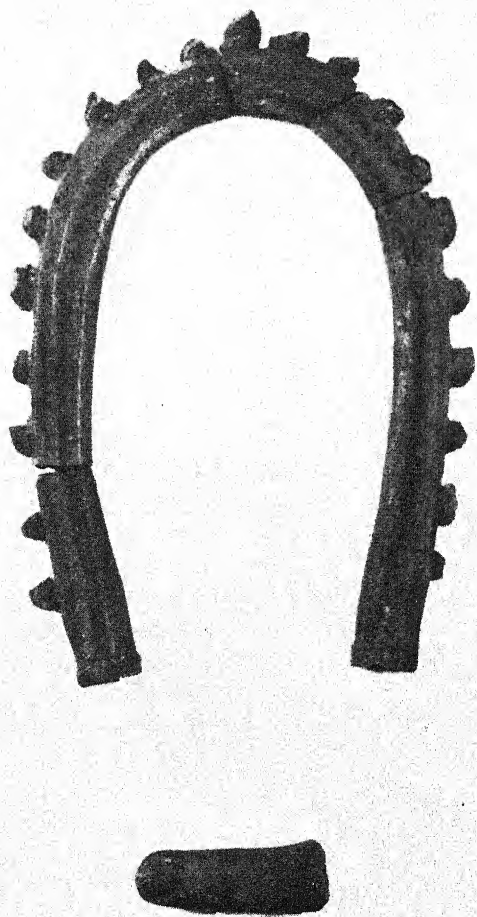


Pl. 60. Kedah Site 16: further objects from the bronze casket: *upper row* (left to right), silver yoke, gold noose, silver plough; *lower row*: gold bow, arrows, sword, dagger, shield & staff.



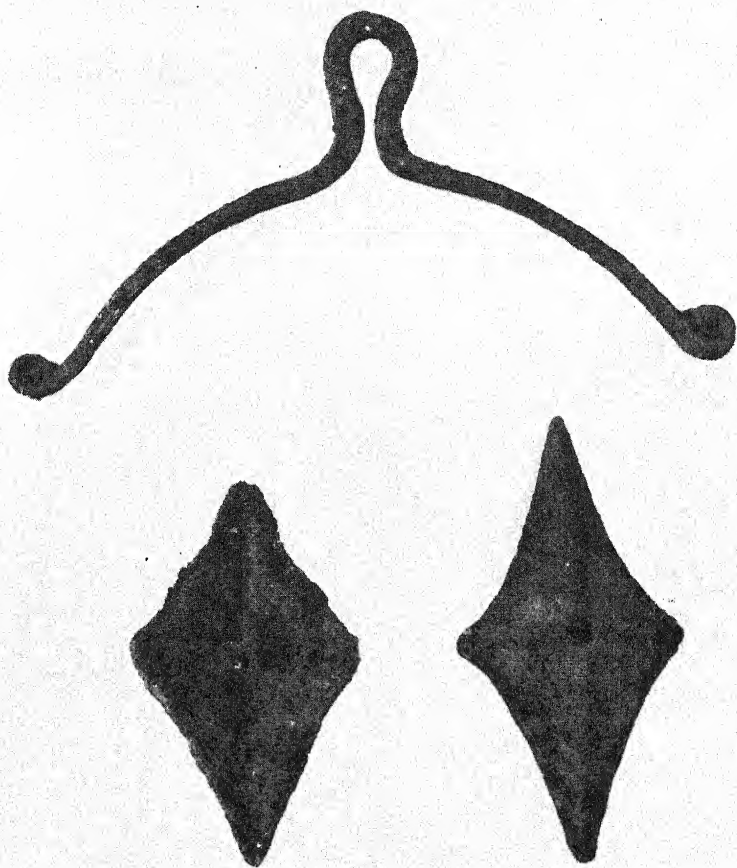
Pl. 61. Gems etc., (enlarged) from Site 16 bronze casket, except where otherwise stated. *Upper row* (left to right), amethystine quartz, amethyst, zircon; *middle row*, pyrope (Site 8), sapphires (the two smaller from Site 8), diamond; *lower row*, gold (the half rings from Site 13), pearls, glass octahedrons.





Pl. 62. Kedah Site 16: (above) bronze aureole, (below) bronze finger.

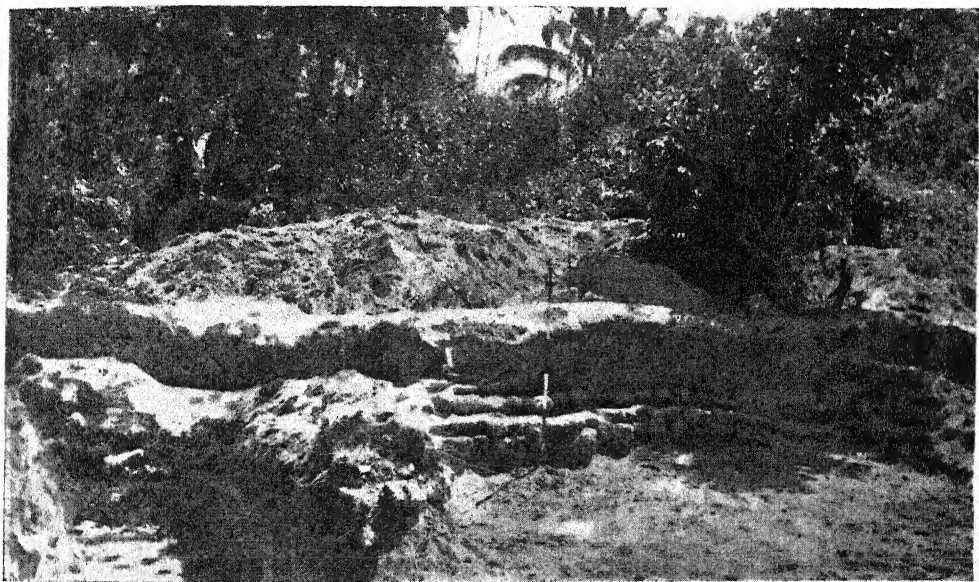




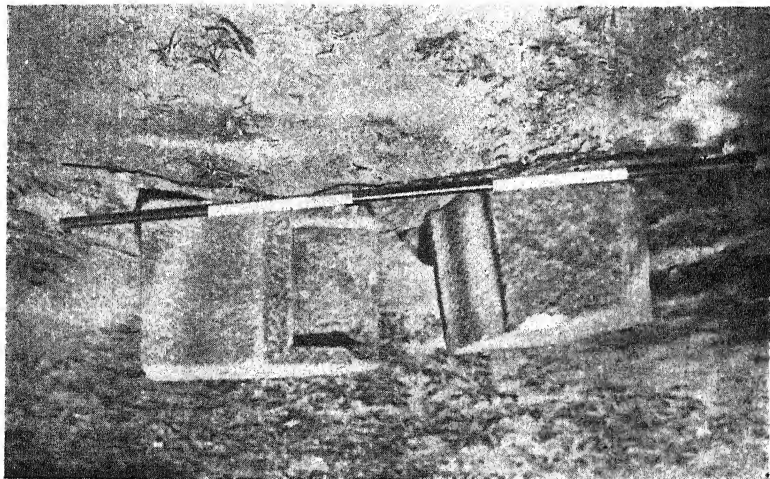
Pl. 63. Kedah Site 16: bronze lamps and suspensor.



Pl. 64. Kedah Site 16: bronze bell.



Pl. 65. Kedah Site 18, in course of excavation.

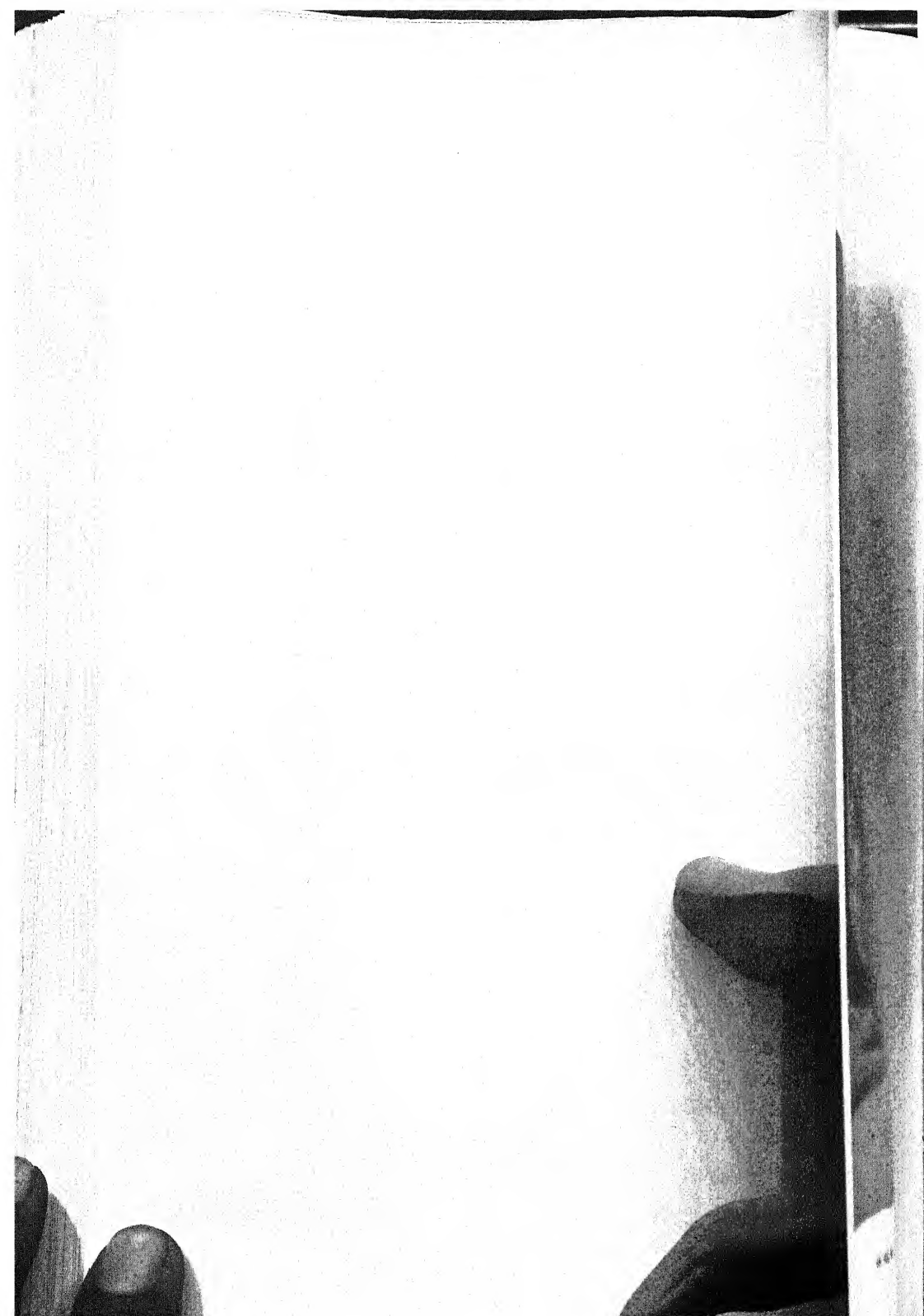


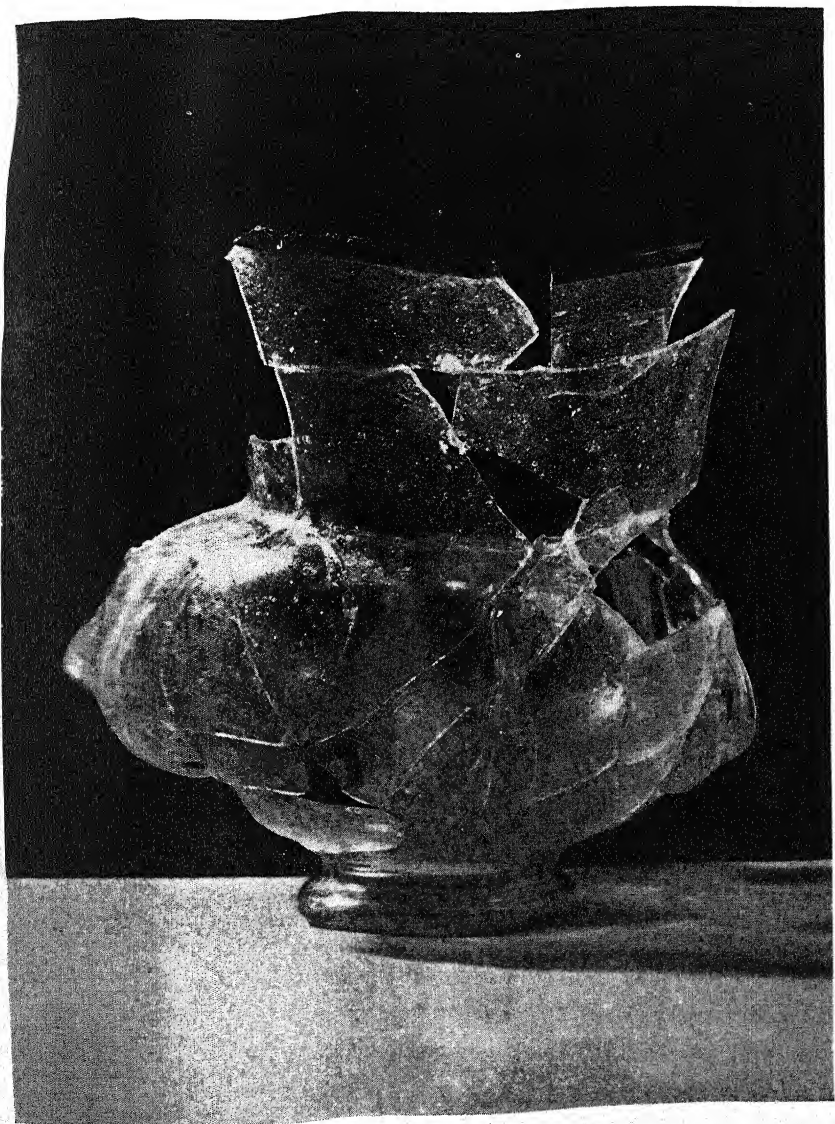
Pl. 66. Kedah Site 18: fragments of carved stone door-frames.



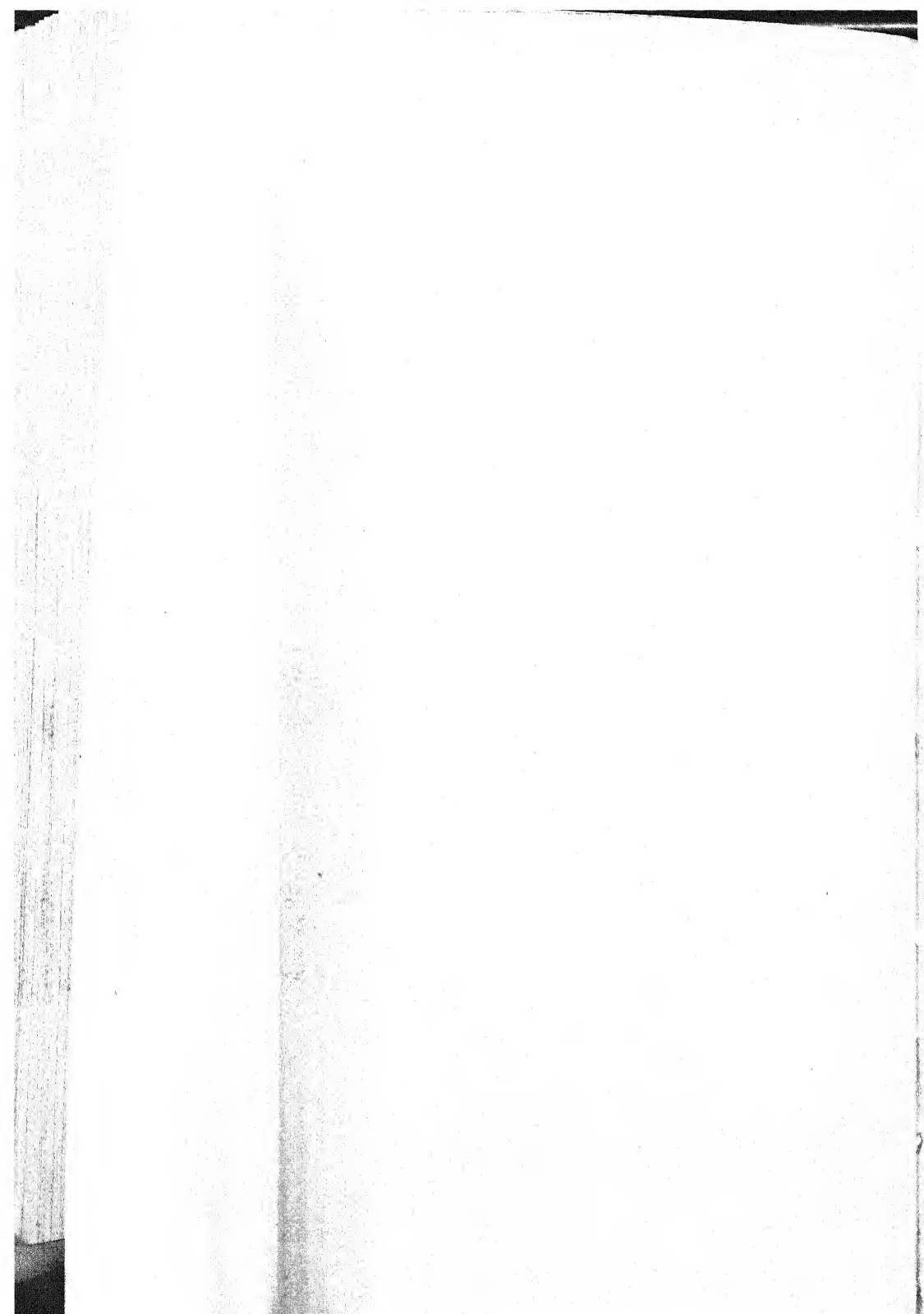


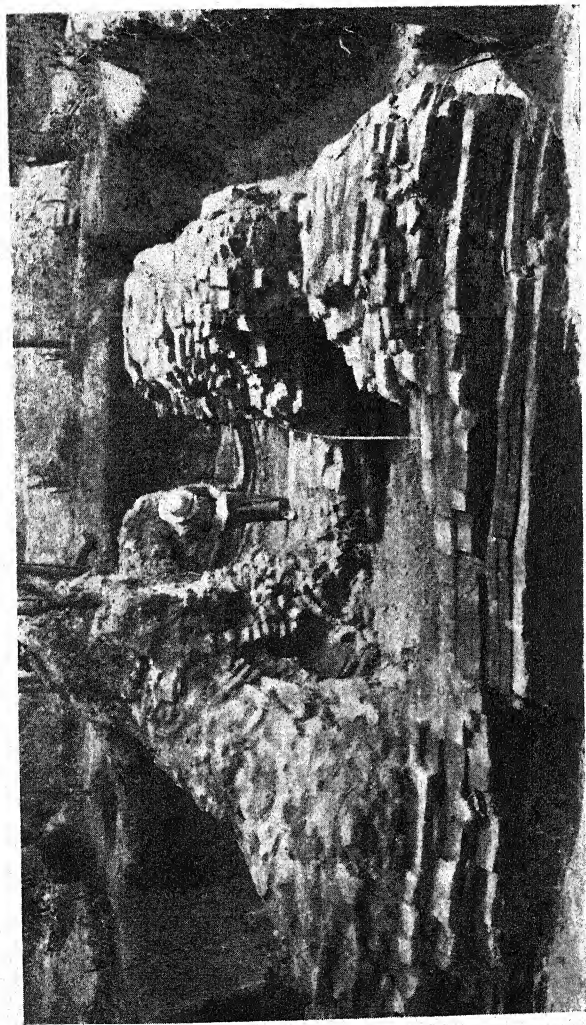
Pl. 67. Porcelain bowl from Kedah Site 18 (left) for comparison with one from C'aiya, Siam (right).



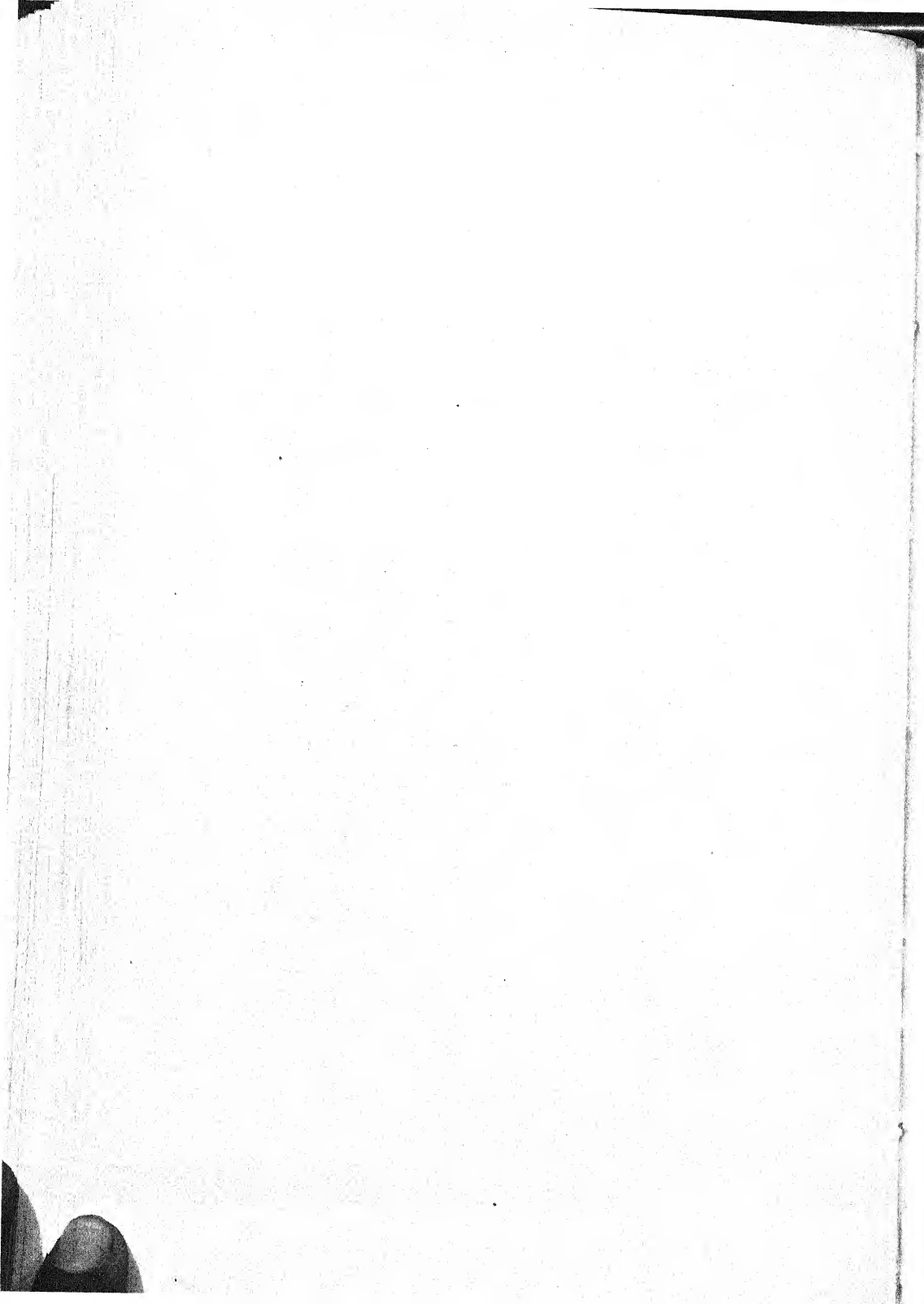


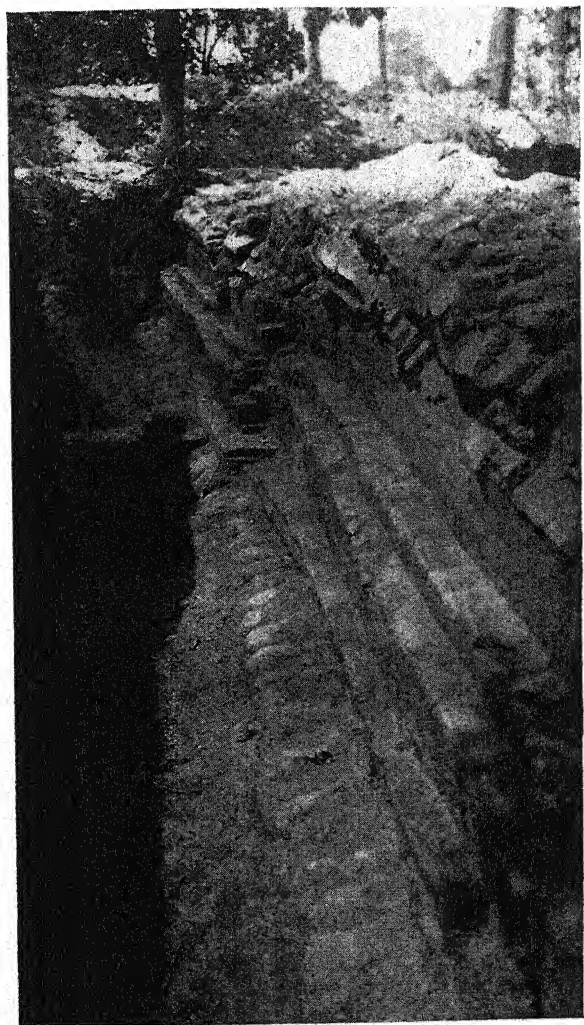
Pl. 68. Kedah Site 18: Arab glass lamp.



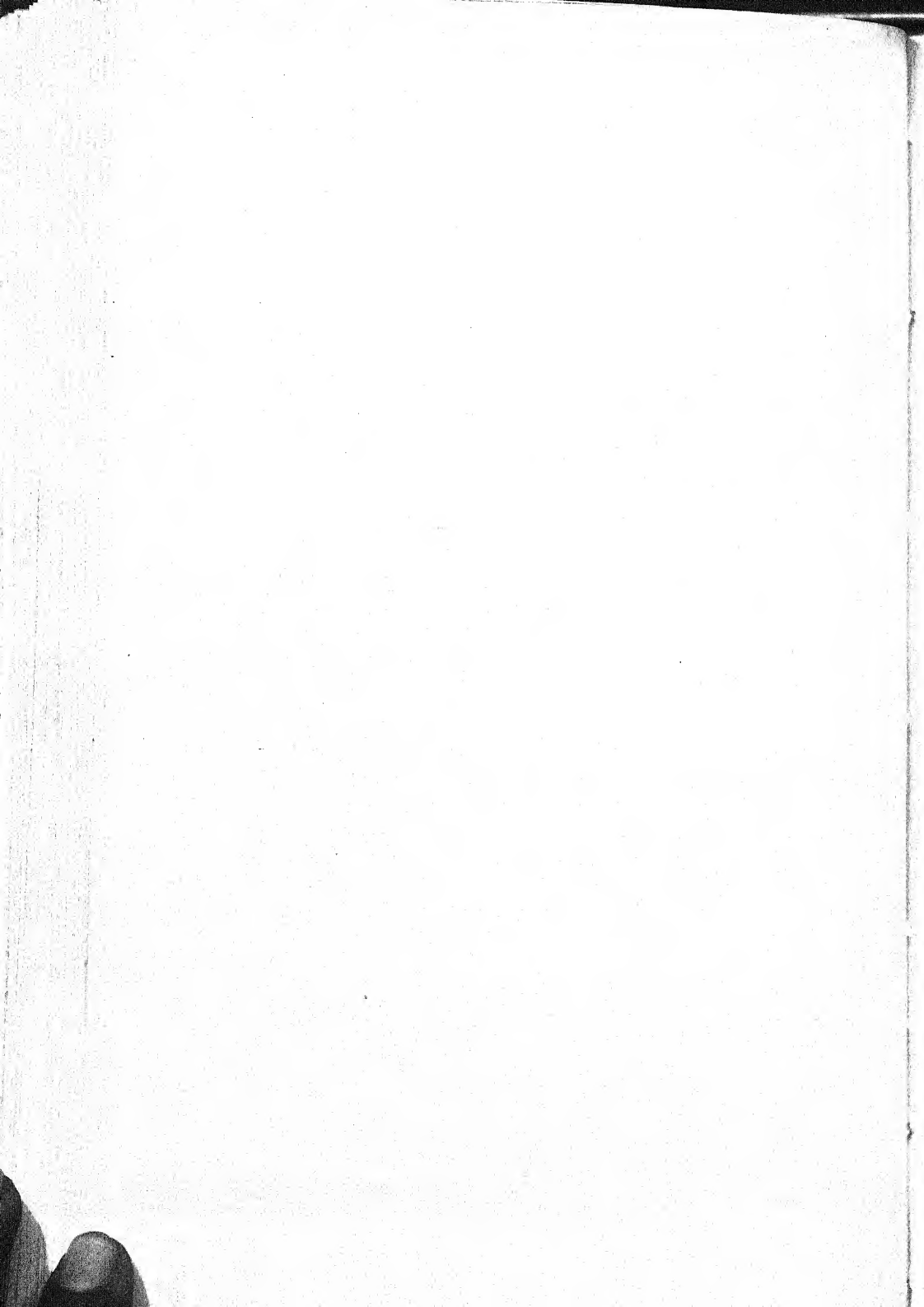


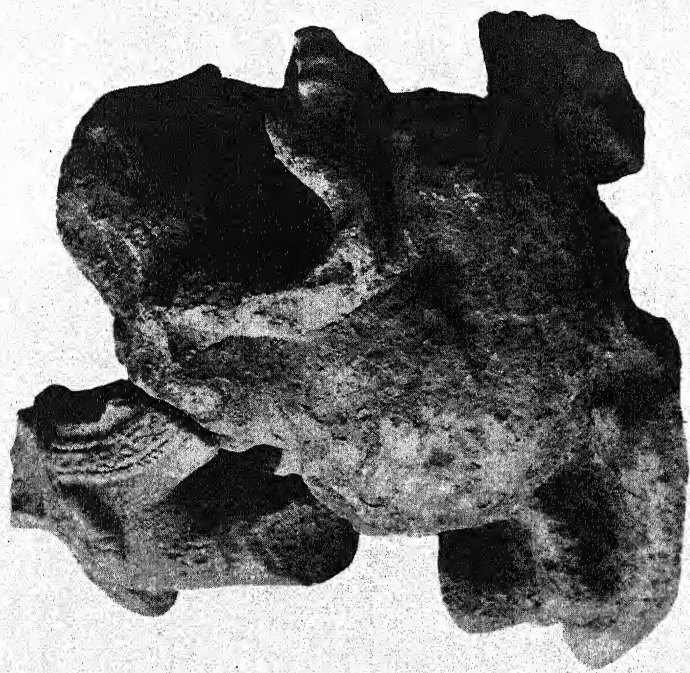
Pl. 69. Kedah Site 19, from the west.





Pl. 70. Kedah Site 19; detail of south wall.

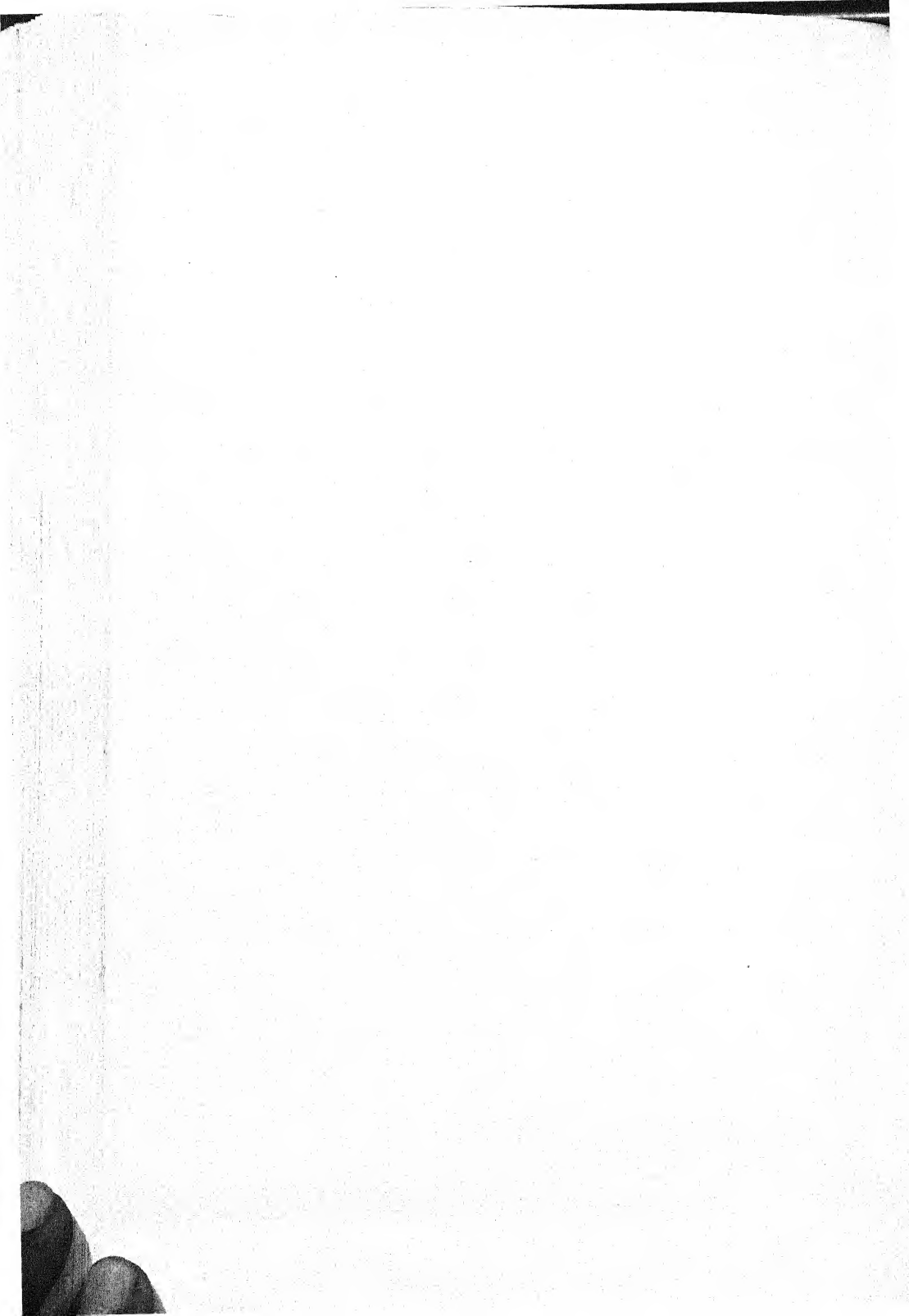




Pl. 71. Kedah Site 19: headless terracota Ganesā, front view.

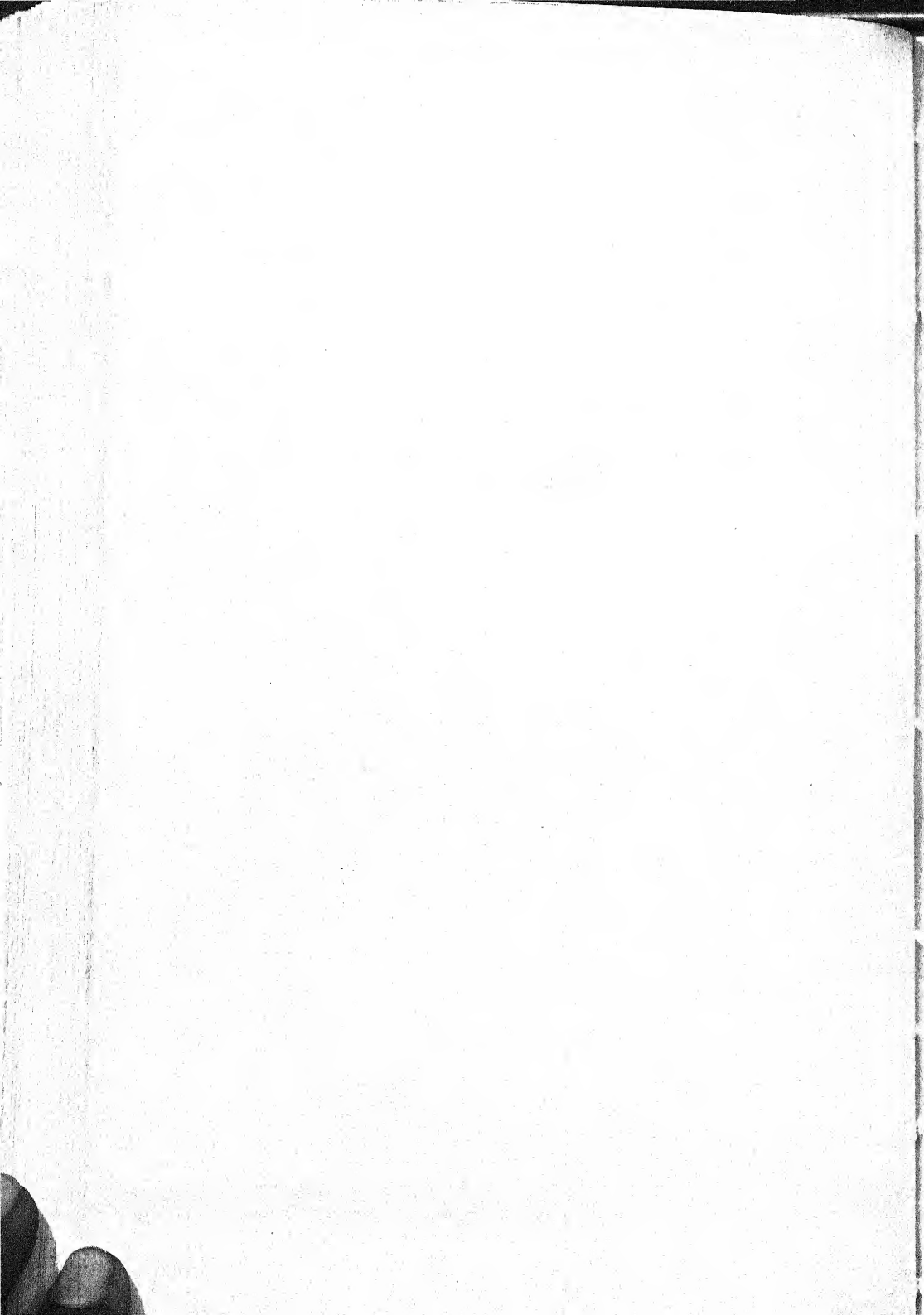


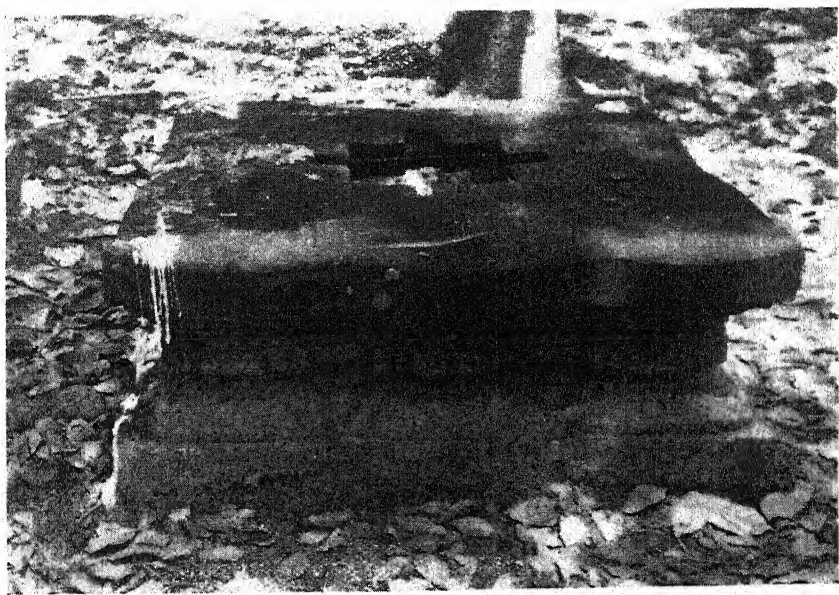
Pl. 72. Kedah Site 19: side view of the headless Gaṇeśa.





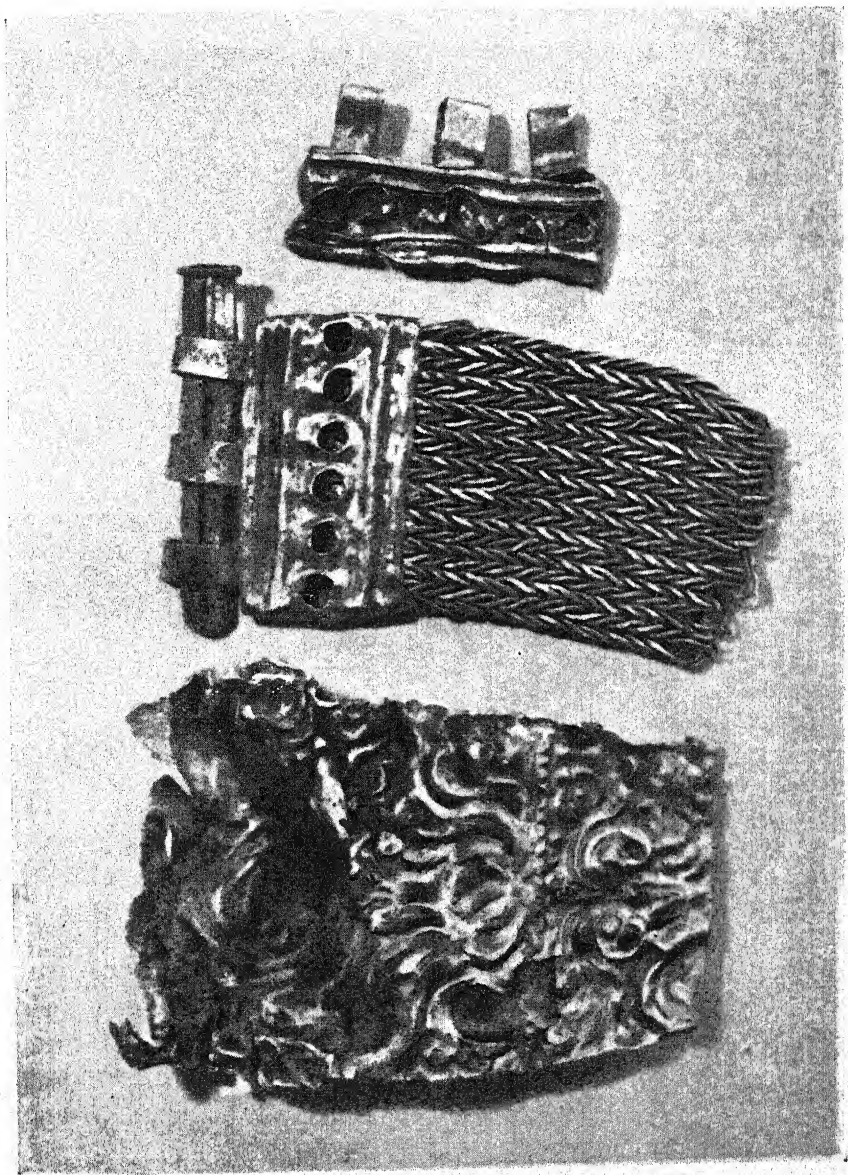
Pl. 73. Kedah Site 19: (left) central prong of a bronze Śiva trident; (right) fragmentary nine-chambered reliquary.



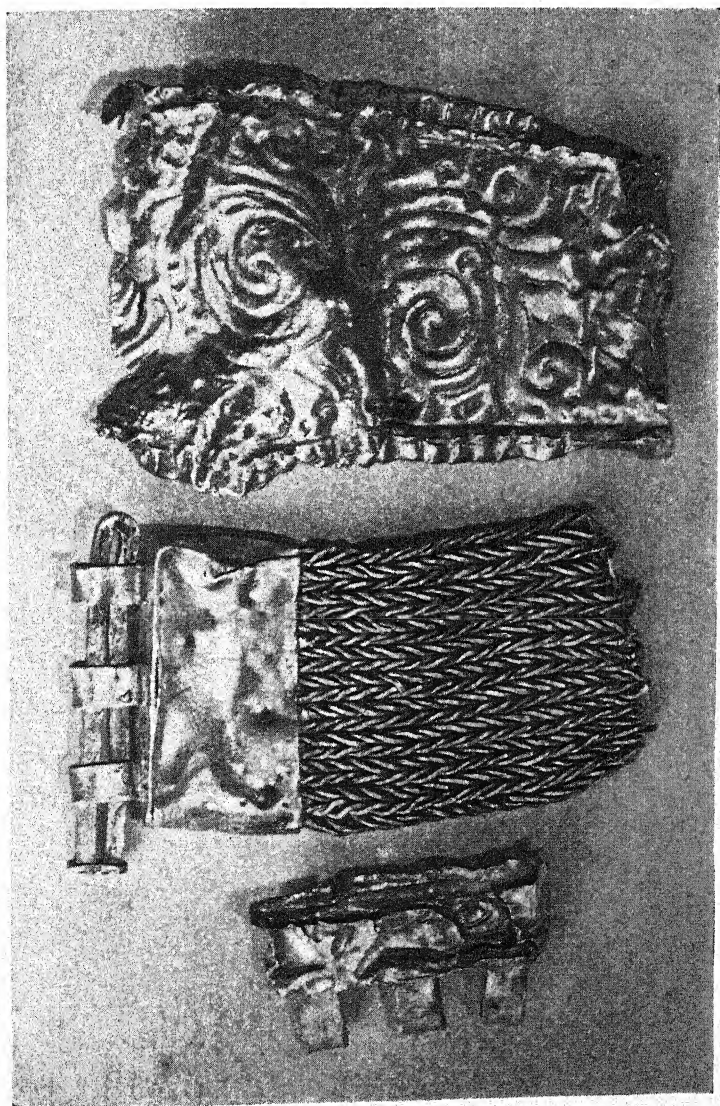


Pl. 74. Kedah Site 24: stone *vedika* or pedestal.

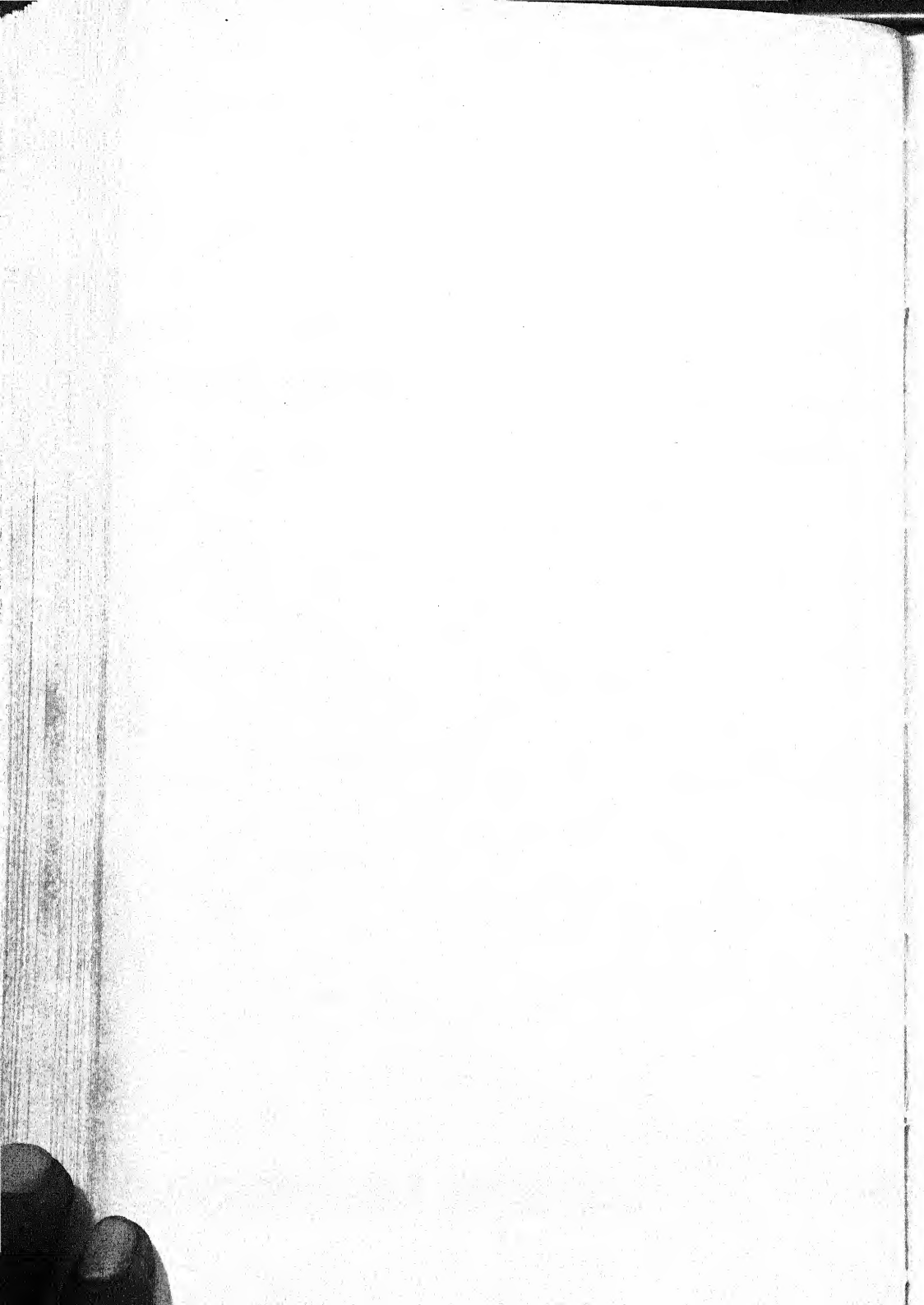




Pl. 75. Kedah Site 27: three fragments of gold belt.

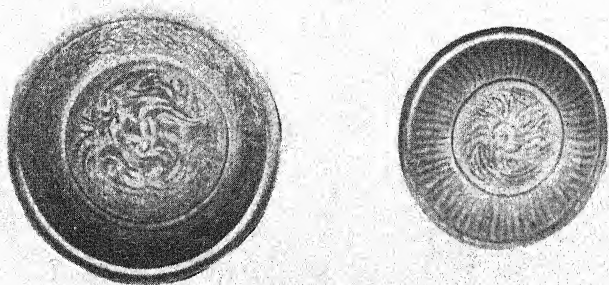


Pl. 76. Kedah Site 27: reverse of the three fragments of gold belt.

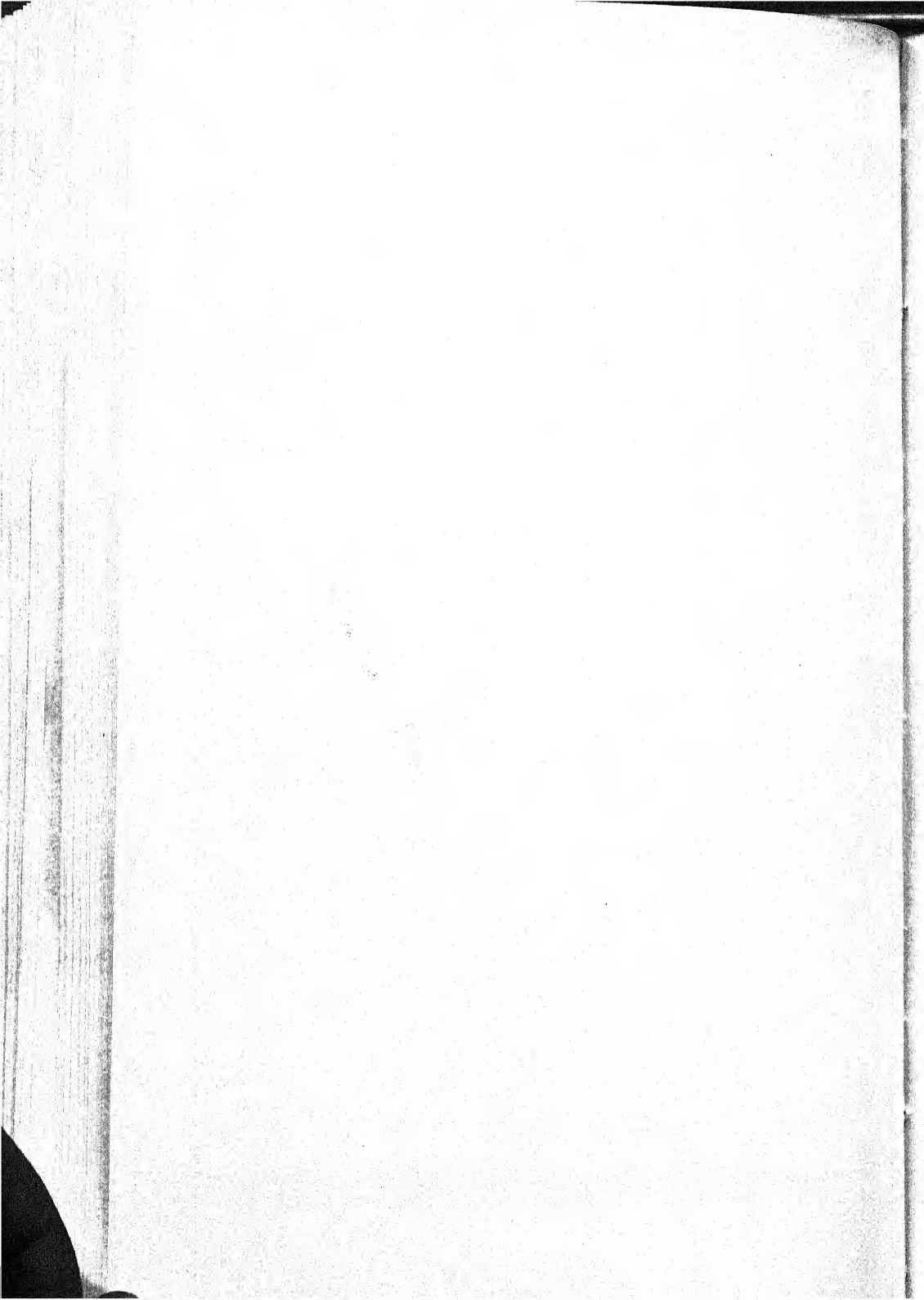


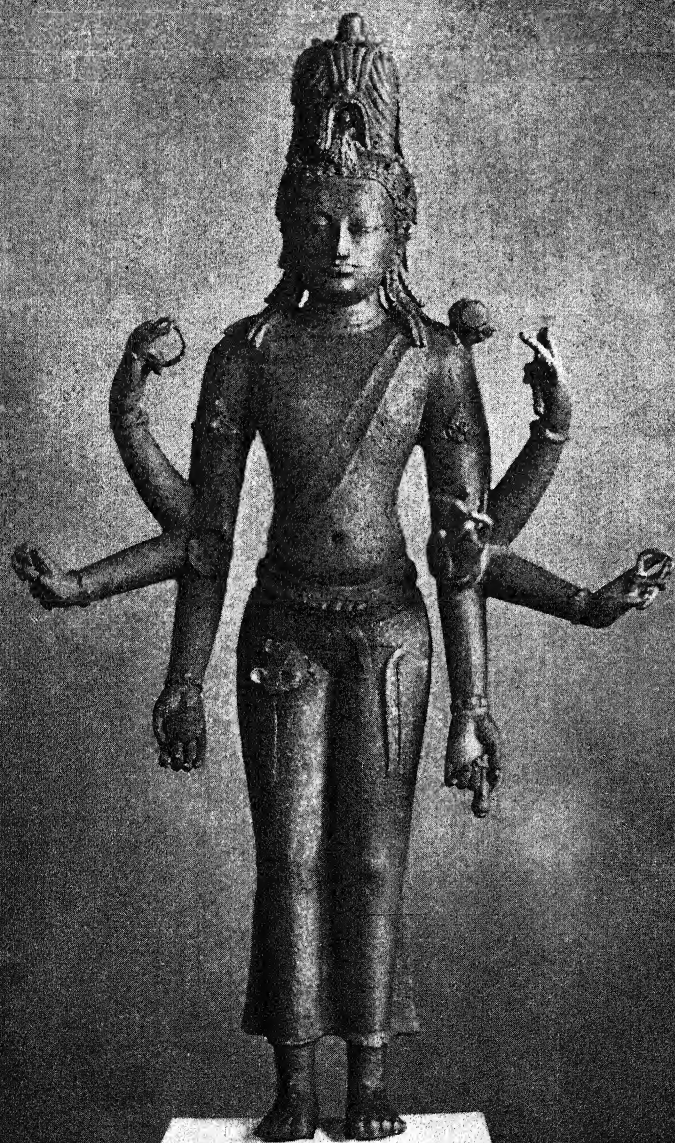


Pl. 77. Kedah Site 27: fragment of gold belt embossed with
simha-mukha.



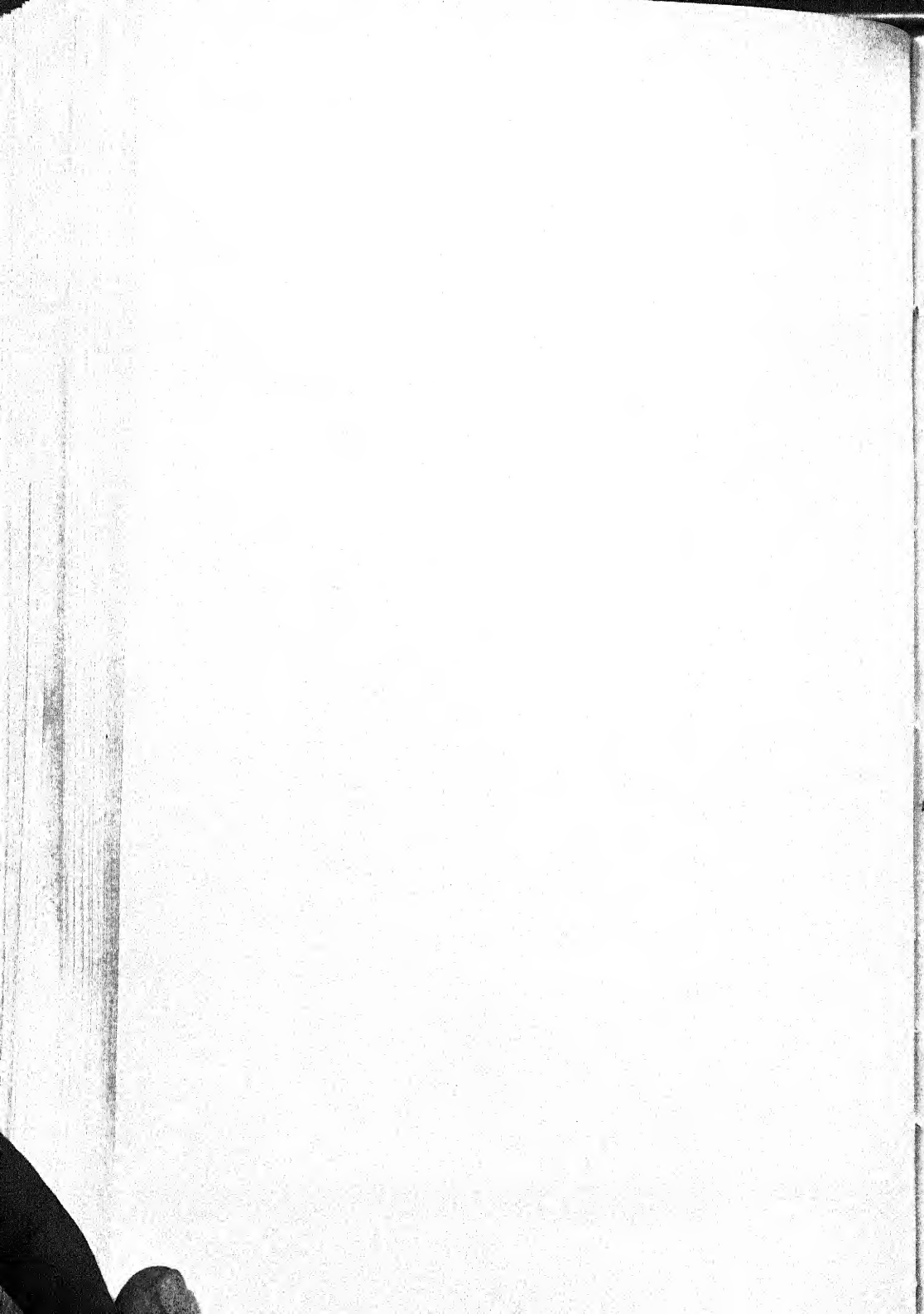
Pl. 78. Kedah Site 28: celadon dishes.





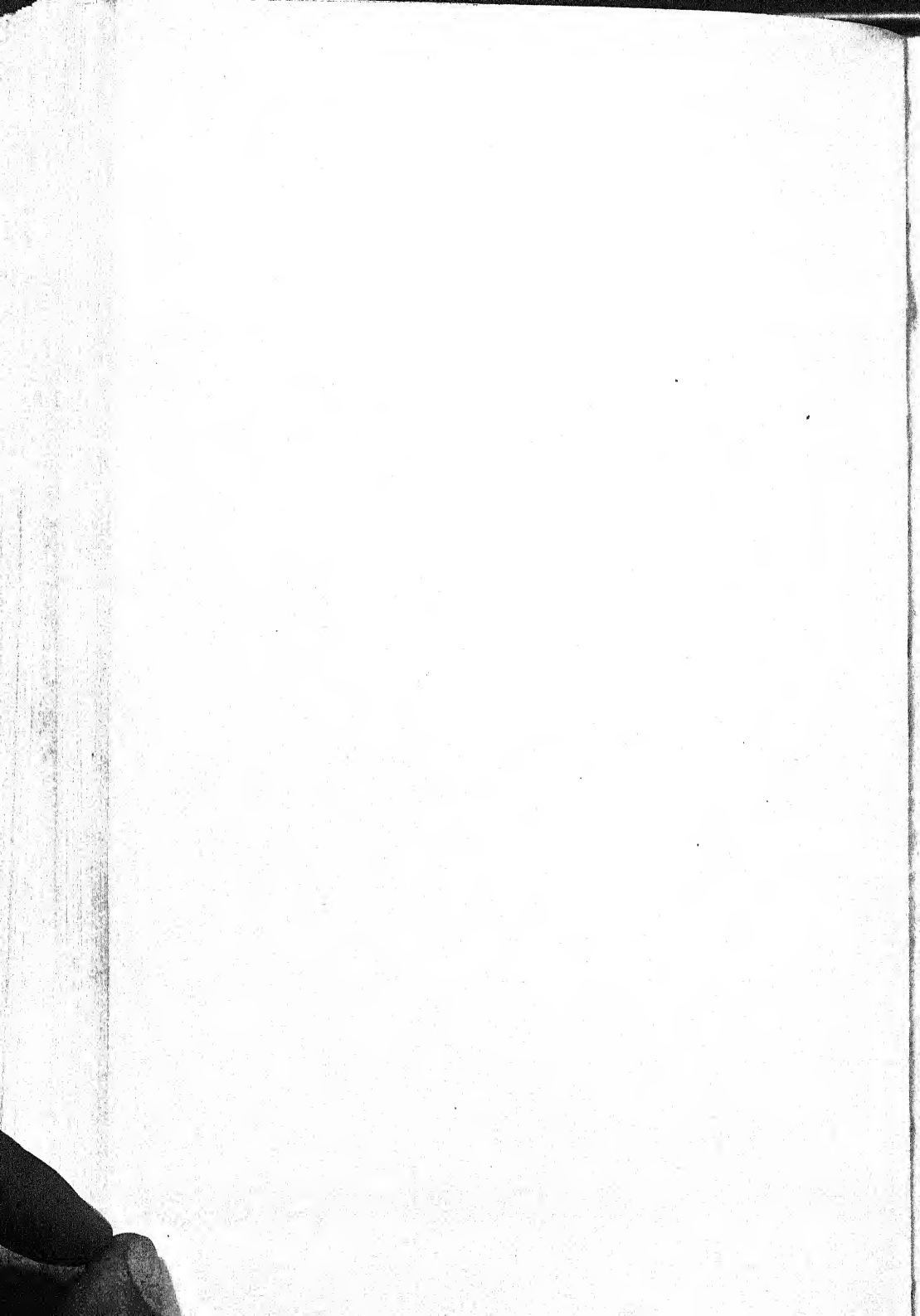


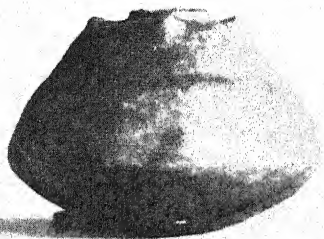




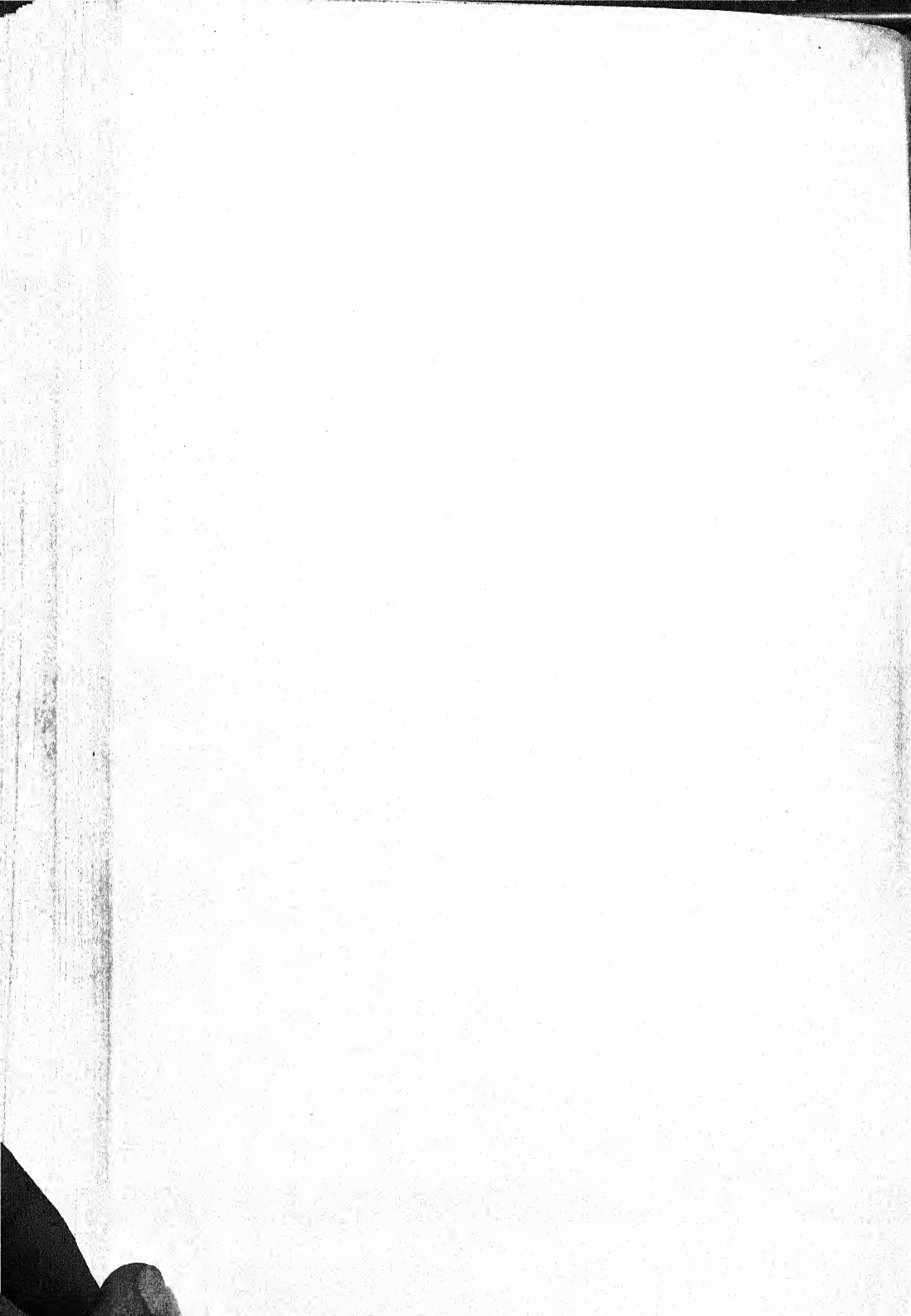


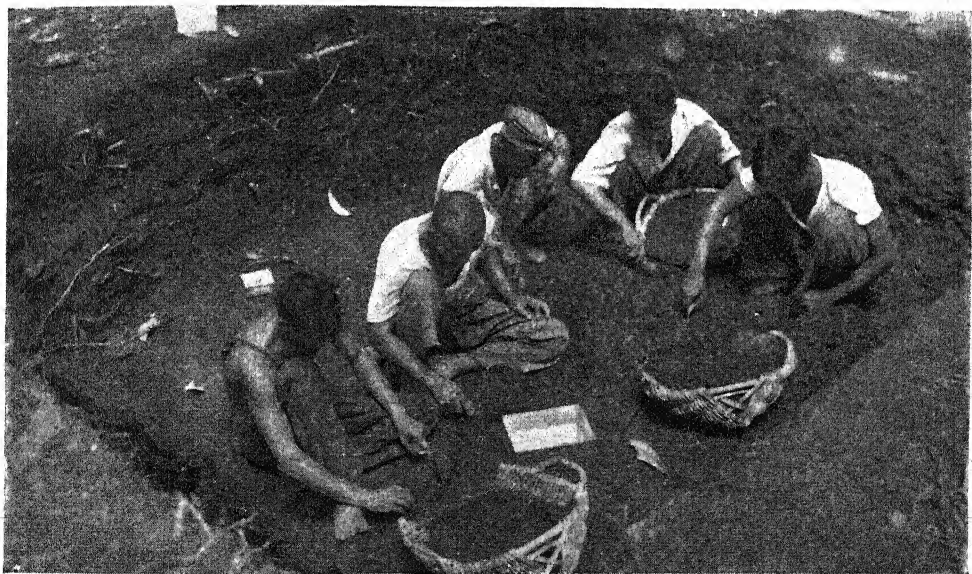
Pl. 81. Seated bronze Avalokitesvara, from Sungai Siput, Perak.



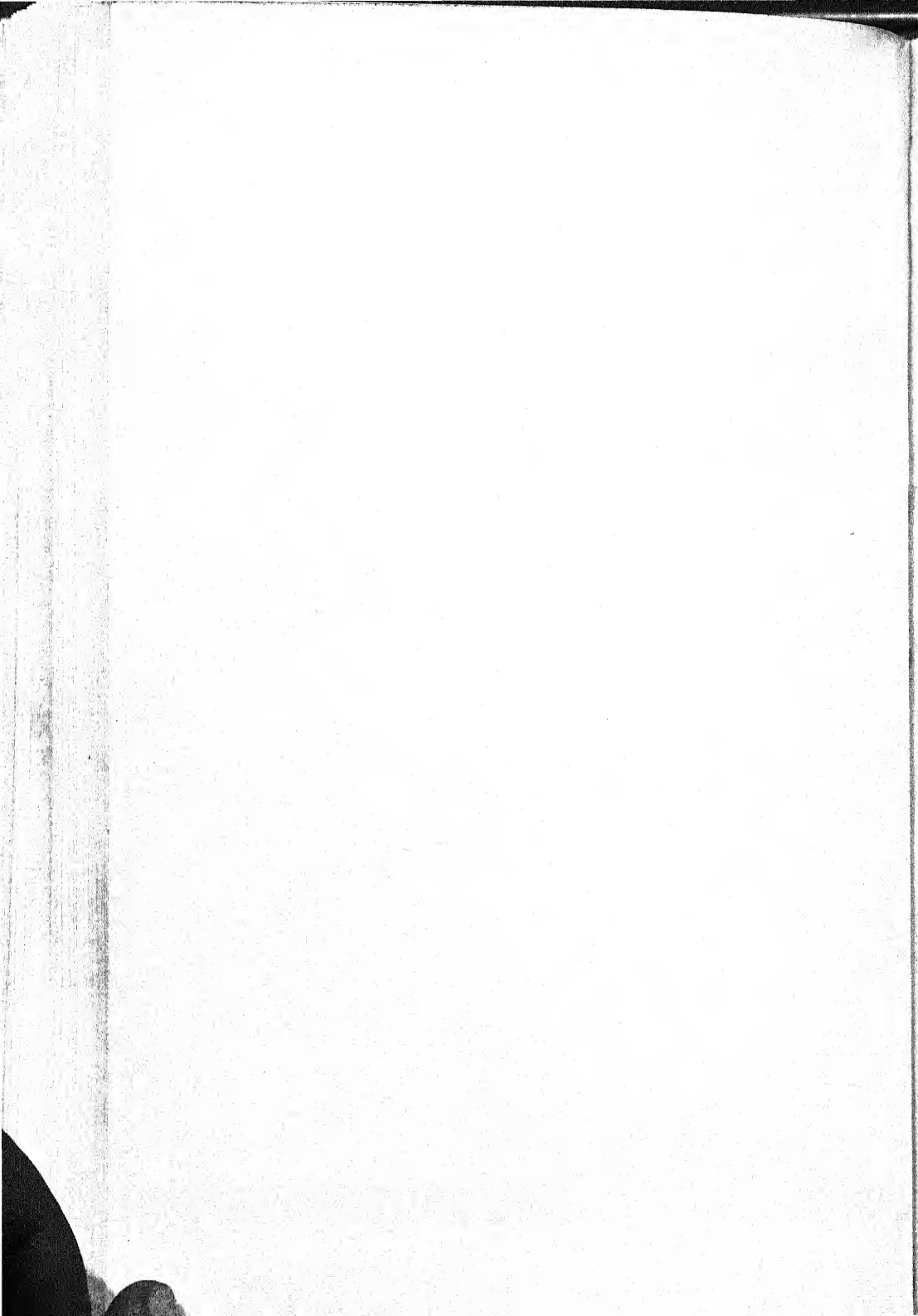


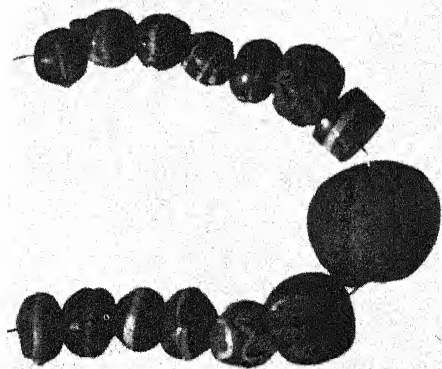
Pl. 82. Earthenware jar of uncertain affinity found superficially at
Kuala Selinsing, Perak.



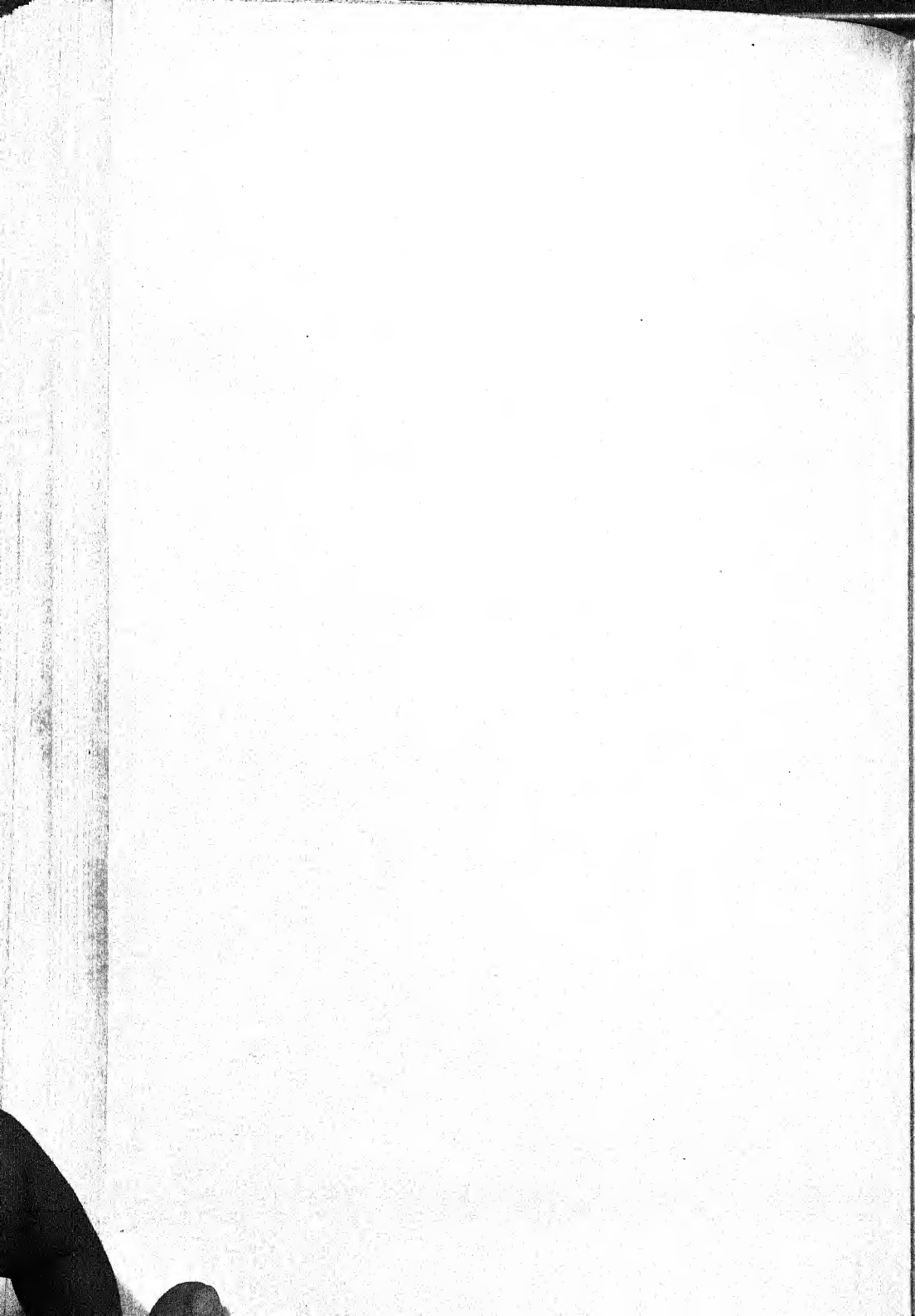


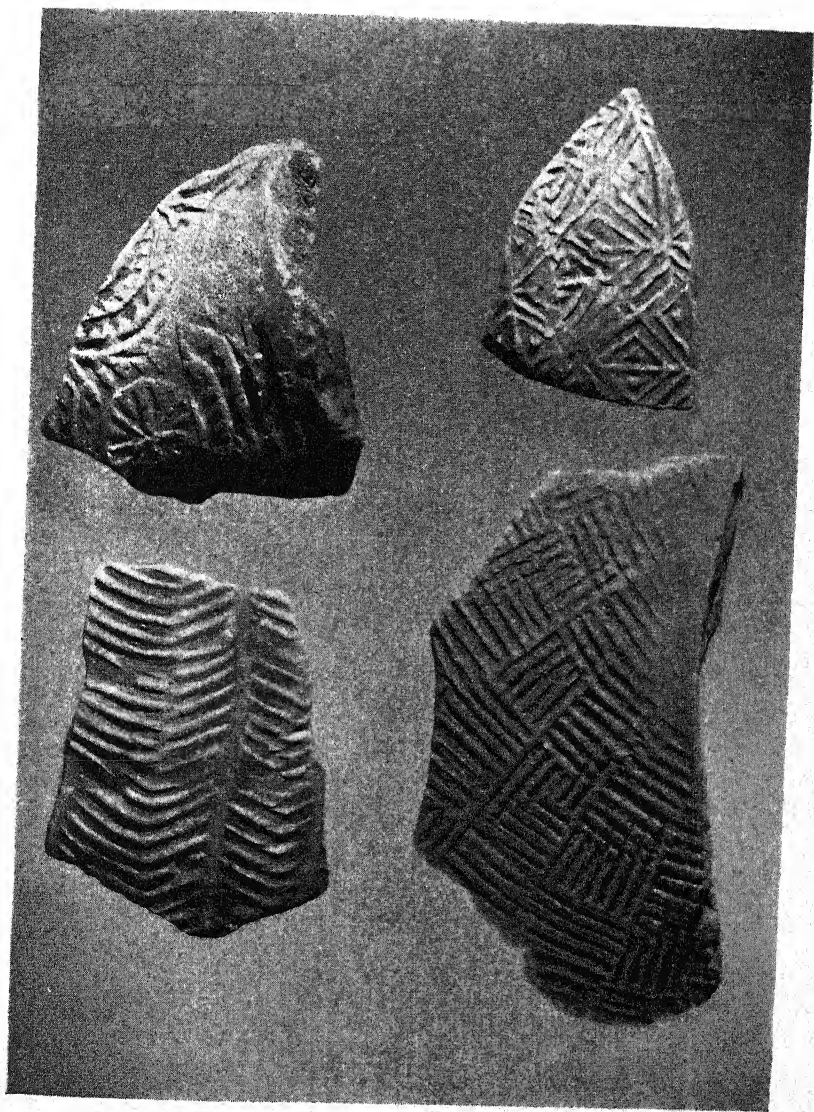
Pl. 83. Men engaged in excavating small sector at Kuala Selinsing, Perak.





Pl. 84. Kota Tinggi, Johore: (left) Roman beads; (right) potsherd with stamped lotus design.





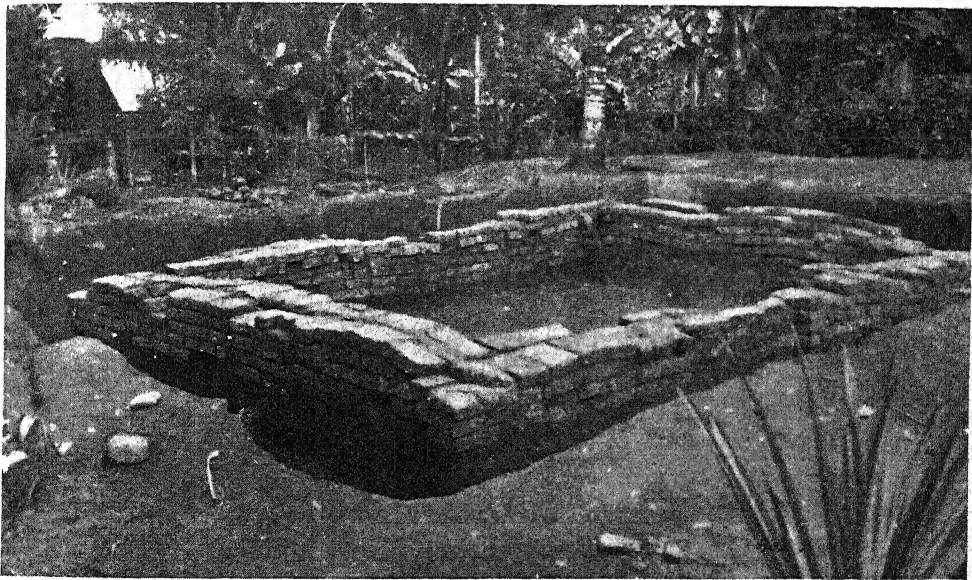
Pl. 85. Kota Tinggi: potsherds with stamped formal designs.



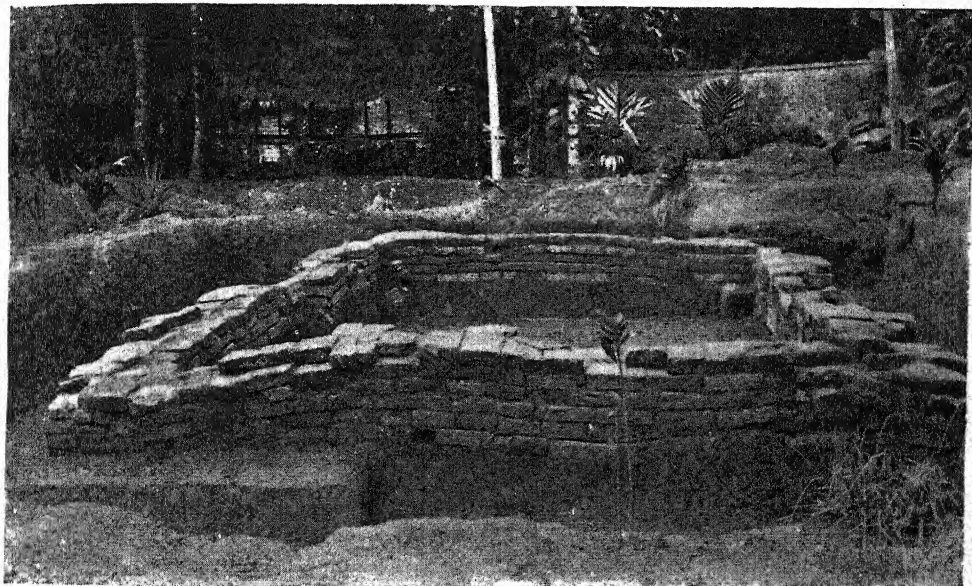
Pl. 86. Kota Tinggi: XVth century Fukien blue and white bowl.



Pl. 87. Kota Tinggi: fragment of XVth century blue and white bowl.



Pl. 88. Kota Tinggi: brick structure, from the north-west.



Pl. 89. Kota Tinggi: brick structure, from the north.



Vol. XVIII

Part II

JOURNAL

of the

Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

August, 1940

SINGAPORE
PRINTERS LIMITED

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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron :

H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W. Thomas, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Governor of the Straits Settlements, High Commissioner for the
Malay States, British Agent for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Council for 1940.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. W. Jones, <i>C.M.G.</i> , <i>M.C.S.</i>	<i>President.</i>
The Rev. Fr. Cardon	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the S.S.</i>
The Hon'ble Dato R. St. J. Braddell	
The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Brown, <i>M.C.S.</i>	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the F.M.S.</i>
Mr. V. B. C. Baker	
The Hon'ble Engku Aziz, <i>D.K.</i> , <i>C.M.G.</i>	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the U.M.S.</i>
Mr. Anker Rentse	
The Hon'ble Capt. N. H. Hashim, <i>M.L.C.</i> , <i>I.S.O.</i>	} <i>Councillors.</i>
Mr. E. N. Taylor, <i>M.C.S.</i>	
Mr. B. Harrison	
Mr. R. E. Holttum	
Mr. E. H. Corner	
Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie	<i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
Mr. F. N. Chasen	<i>Hon. Secretary and Editor.</i>

PROCEEDINGS
of the
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum on Friday 23rd February, 1940 at 4.45 p.m.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. W. Jones, C.M.G., M.C.S., in the Chair.

1. The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Annual Report and Accounts as submitted by the Council were adopted.
3. The Officers and Council for 1940 were elected.
4. H. H. the Sultan of Perak, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., etc. was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.
5. The following gentlemen, having agreed to the proposal, were constituted a "Special purposes (special publications, etc.) Sub-Committee."—the Hon. Dato R. St. J. Braddell (Chairman), Mr. B. Harrison, and Capt. T. M. Winsley.

Annual Report

of the

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
for 1939

Membership. The number of members at the end of the year was 486 compared with 522 at the end of 1938. The roll consisted of 18 Honorary Members, 3 Corresponding Members and 465 Ordinary Members. Two Ordinary Members resigned during the year. Death claimed two. Rigid enforcement of Rule 6 ("Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership"), resulted in the lapse of a number of memberships, some of which it is hoped will be revived. The following 24 members were elected during the year :—

Akers, R. L.	Maclean, Mrs. D. L.
Abdul Rani bin Haji Hussein.	Mogensen, Capt. C. P.
Bird, G. L. F.	Morgan, W. S.
Browne, R. N.	Orr, W.
Cromwell, T. P.	Paramsothy, V.
Fairmaid, G. H.	Raghavan, N.
Faith, J. A. A.	Schmidt, Dr. W.
Gosse, N. F.	Southwell, C. H.
Hill, A. H.	Stubbs, G. C.
Jackman, C. W.	Tolliday, C. R.
Mead, J. D.	Wookey, W. K. C.
McHugh, J. N.	Zainal Abidin bin Kasahatan.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at Raffles Museum on 24th February.

Journals. The Journal for the year (Vol. XVII) consisted of three parts.

The first part was miscellaneous in character and contained papers on Malayan coins, the flora of limestone hills, Malayan sponges and several ethnographical papers. It also included a further instalment of Dato Roland St. J. Braddell's survey of

Malayan history. Part two was a long contribution from Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., D.Litt. entitled "A History of Malay Literature". The last part for the year was devoted to Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales' account of his recent archaeological excavations in Kedah and Johore.¹ Owing to the fact that proofs of the last two numbers had to be sent to Europe and America by surface mail it was not possible to get them out of the press by the end of the year.

Finance. Subscriptions for the year amounted to \$1,671.69. The bank balance at the close of the year was \$3,778.79. The accounts have been audited and found correct by Mr. J. H. Belderson to whom the thanks of the Council are extended.

Assistance Required. Members continue to forward helpful suggestions of ways in which the Society could extend its scope and usefulness, but it must be repeated that nothing can be done to act on the suggestions until an enthusiastic member of the Society, resident in Singapore, comes forward to help as Assistant Hon. Secretary ("Special Purposes"). The present honorary officials of the Society cannot undertake to do more than the routine work of the Society, and the editing of the Journal.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

¹Actually, the order was altered. "A History of Malay Literature" was made the third (and last) part for the year; and part two was an abridged translation of Moens' recent, important paper, "Śrīvijaya, Yāva en Katāha." Dr. Quaritch Wales' report was held over for 1941.—F.N.C.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY **Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1939.**

RECEIPTS.

Cash.

Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1938	..	\$3,343.20
Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1938	..	50.00

\$3,393.20

Subscriptions.

For the year 1938	..	\$ 31.00
" " 1939	..	1,278.29
" " 1940	..	156.40
" " 1941	..	6.00
Life Members	..	200.00

1,671.69
713.78

Sale of Journals

..	..	
----	----	--

Contributions.

S.S. Government	..	\$ 500.00
Johore Government	..	250.00
Kelantan Government	..	50.00
Kedah Government	..	50.00
F.M.S. Government 1938	..	1,000.00
F.M.S. Government 1939	..	1,000.00

2,850.00

Interest.

On Investments	..	\$ 367.00
On Current Account	..	18.73

385.73

\$9,014.40

PAYMENTS.

Printing.	..	\$ 322.00
Journal Vol. XVI, Part II Blocks	..	14.84
Author's Reprints	..	38.25

\$ 375.0

Journal Vol. XVI, Part III	..	\$1,404.20
Author's Reprints	..	169.50

1,573.7

Journal Vol. XVII, Part I Blocks	..	\$1,475.60
Author's Reprints	..	347.39
Author's Reprints	..	392.25

2,215.2
42.0

Index and title pages for Vol. XV.
 Annual General Meeting Notice
 and Report for 1938
 Line Blocks for Journal not yet
 published

19.2

Miscellaneous.

Post Office Box No. 493	..	10.0
Salaries	..	600.0
Postage	..	136.9
Stationery	..	45.4
Sundries	..	110.3
Bank Exchange and Commissions.	..	16.3
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1939	..	\$3,778.79
Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1939	..	50.00

3,828.7

\$9,014.4

Singapore, January, 1940.

M. W. F. TWEEDIE,

Hon. Treasurer

RULES
of
The Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'
2. The objects of the Society shall be :—
 - (a) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.
 - (b) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.
 - (c) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary.
4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.
5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of \$6 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until the subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for \$100; other members may compound by paying \$50, or \$100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid.

Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership*

7. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer.
Five Councillors.

An Honorary Secretary.
An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be :—

- (a) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.
- (b) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.
- (c) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.
- (d) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

*By-Law, 1922. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended."

- (e) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.
- (f) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.
- (g) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.
- (h) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render and account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Affiliation Privileges of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS. relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Eire, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Eire to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privilege of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1, Park Street, Calcutta.

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1940.

(As at 1st January, 1940.)

*Life Members.

Year of
Election.

PATRON.

1935. Thomas, H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W., G.C.M.G.,
O.B.E.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- 1890, *1918. Blagden, Dr. C. O., 40, Wychwood Avenue,
Whitchurch Lane, Edgware (Middlesex).
1935. Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Rubenslaan, 54, Bilthoven,
Holland.
1921. Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
- 1927, *1930. Clifford, Sir Hugh, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn
Gardens, London, S.W. 7.
1935. C  d  s, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole
Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-
China.
- 1930, *1934. Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., C.I.E., c/o H. B. M.
Ministry Bangkok, Siam.
- 1903, *1917. Galloway, The Hon'ble Sir D. J., Johore Bahru,
Johore. (Vice-President 1906-7; President
1908-13).
- 1895, *1920. Hanitsch, Dr. R., M.A., 99, Woodstock Road,
Oxford, England. (Council, 1897-1919; Hon.
Tr., 1898-1906, 1910-11, 1914-19; Hon. Sec.,
1912-13).
1922. Johore, H. H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G.,
K.B.E., Johore Bahru, Johore.
- 1900, *1932. Kloss, C. Boden, c/o Royal Societies Club, 63, St.
James Street, London, S.W. 1. (Council, 1904-
8, 1923, 1927-28; Vice-Pres., 1920-21, 1927;
Hon. Sec., 1923-26; President, 1930).
1935. Krom, Dr. N. J., 18, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.
- 1903, *1927. Maxwell, Sir W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Chindle, High
Salvington, Worthing, Sussex, England. (Coun-
cil, 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916, 1918,
1920; Pres., 1919, 1922-23, 1925-26).
1940. Perak, H. H. The Sultan of, K.C.M.G., K.B.E.,
The Istana Negara, Bukit Chandan, Kuala
Kangsar, Perak.
- 1890, *1912. Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland
Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Coun-
cil 1890-94, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-93,
1896-1911).

1916. Sarawak, H. H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.
- 1894, *1921. Shellabear, The Rev. Dr. W. G., 195, Girard Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Council, 1896-1901, 1904; Vice-Pres., 1913; President 1914-18).
1921. Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel, 44, Leiden, Holland.
- 1904, *1935. Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt., 95, Westbourne Terrace, London, W. 2. (Vice-Pres., 1914-15, 1920-21, 1923-25, 1928; Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-35).

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1935. Hamilton, A. W., c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3.
1920. Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon, England.
1920. Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass, U.S.A.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- *1921. Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Y. M. Engku, D.K., C.M.G., Johore Bahru, Johore. (Vice-Pres., 1933-35).
1932. Abdul Hamid bin Ungku Abdul Majid, The Hon'ble Y. M. Ungku, c/o The State Secretariat, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1926. Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, M.C.S., Land Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1933. Abdul Rahman bin Mat, Magistrate's Court, Tapah, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Abdul Rahman bin Yassim, Dato, 3, Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1936. Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali, Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Abdullah bin Noordin, A.D.O., Sebat Bernam, Selangor, F.M.S.
1923. Abdullah bin Yahya, The Hon'ble Capt. Shaikh, S.M.J., P.I.S., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1937. Abu Bakar, H. H. Tunku, D.K., P.I.S., Johore Bahru, Johore.
- *1909. Adams, His Excell. Mr. T. S., C.M.G., Chief Commissioner, Nigeria.
1936. Addison, J. S., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
- *1919. Adelborg, F., 40, Artillengatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

1935. Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Che., Asst. Commissioner of Police, Muar, Johore.
1934. Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Sheikh, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1926. Ahmad bin Osman, M.C.S., District Office, Dindings. F.M.S.
1935. Ahmed Zainul'abidin, Tengku Sri Akar Raja, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1936. Aikin, The Rev. Hamilton, The Manse, Golf Club Road, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Alexander, N.L., M.C.S.
1927. Allen, B. W., Police Depot, Singapore.
1935. Amstutz, The Rev. H. B., 48, Canning Rise, Singapore.
1938. Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Anderson, W. Graeme, Tanjong Batu Estate, Manek Urai, Kelantan.
1933. Annamalai University Library, Annamalainagar, Chidambaram, S. India.
1934. Archer, The Rev. R. L., Ph.D., Methodist Mission, Singapore.
1926. Ariff, Dr. K. M., 12, Beach Street, Penang.
1926. Atkin-Berry, H. C., Swan & Maclaren, Singapore.
- *1908. Ayre, C. F. C., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1. England. (Hon. Tr., 1910-11).
1933. Azman bin Abdul Hamid, Treasury Office, Mersing, Johore.
1938. Badry, C. M. P., Eastern Smelting Co., Ltd., Penang.
- *1926. Bagnall, The Hon'ble Sir John, K.B.E., The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1919. Bailey, A. E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington Spa, England.
- *1926. Bailey, John, C.M.G., 197, Latymer Court, London, W. 6. England.
1936. Bailey, L. C., Rengam Estate, Rengam, Johore.
1915. Bain, Norman K., 23, Market Place, Warminster, Wilts, England.
1926. — Bain, V. L., Forestry Dept., Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1912. Baker, Capt. A. C., M.C., M.C.S.
1932. Baker, J. A., Dept., of Agriculture, Alor Star, Kedah.
1935. Baker, V. B. C., c/o Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd., Sungai Lembing, Pahang, F.M.S.

1937. Bancroft, K. H., M.C.S., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1935. Bangs, T. W. T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu Kelantan, Kelantan.
- *1899. Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
1920. Barbour, Dr. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1932. Barrett, E. C. G., M.C.S., Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1936. Barron, G. D., M.C., Superintendent of Surveys, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Barrowman, Dr. Barclay, Dato, Federal Dispensary Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1937. Barton, J. E., The Asiatic Petroleum Co., St. Helen's Court, Singapore.
1914. Bazell, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. (Hon. Libr., 1916-20 ; Hon. Tr., 1921-22).
1925. Bee, R. J., Public Works Dept., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1910. Berkeley, Capt., H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich, England.
1937. Beuzekom, J. C. van, Tanjong Balai, Karimon Island, N.E.I.
- *1912. Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle, Hopewell Junction, Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.
1884. Bicknell, W. A., 2, Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, England.
1936. Bingham, R. P., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Malacca.
1931. Birse, A. L., M.C.S., District Officer, Kinta, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1908. Bishop, Major C. E.
- *1935. Bishop, H., A.M.I.S.E., M.A.A.E., Public Works Dept., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
1933. Black, J. G., M.C.S.
1937. Black, R. B., M.C.S.
1884. Bland, R.N., C.M.G., Brown Gable, Crawley Down, Crawley, Sussex. (Council., 1898-1900 ; Vice-Pres., 1907-09).
1921. Blasdel, The Rev. R.A., Methodist Mission, Malacca.
1938. Bliss, Miss Mary., Raffles Girls' School, Singapore.
1925. Blythe, W. L., M.C.S., Labour Office (Chinese), Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1933. Booth, I. C., Surveys Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.

- *1926. Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1919. Bourne, F. G., " Little Dawbourne ", St. Michaels, Tenterden, Kent, England.
- 1921. Boyd, R., M.C.S., Co-operative Dept., Kuala Lumpur F.M.S.
- 1919. Boyd, W. R., Aram, Hollywood, c/o Down, N. Ireland.
- *1913. Braddell, The Hon'ble Dato R. St. J., M.A., Braddell Brothers, Singapore. (Council, 1936-37; Vice-Pres., 1938-40).
- 1936. Braine, Dr. G. I. H., Medical Officer, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. F.M.S.
- 1932. Brant, R. V., M.C.S.
- 1935. Brooke, A. W. D., Lawas, Sarawak.
- 1939. Broome, R. N., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Penang.
- 1915. Brown, The Hon'ble Mr. C.C., M.C.S. The Residency Kuala Lipis, Pahang. (Vice-Pres., 1925, 1932-36, 1939-40., Pres., 1938).
- 1933. Browne, F. G., Forest Research Institute, Kuala Krai Kelantan.
- *1913. Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch Street, London, England.
- 1887. Bryant, A. T., 101, Seymore Place, Bryanston Square, London, W. 1. (Council, 1907-10; Vice-Pres., 1912, 1914-16).
- 1932. Bryson, H. P., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
- *1926. Burton, W., 1, Court Lane Gardens, Dulwich, England.
- 1934. Busfield, H. H., 8, Nab Wood Mount, Shipley, Yorks, England.
- *1921. Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, England.
- *1913. Caldecott, H. E. Sir Andrew, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., The Govt. House, Colombo, Ceylon. (Vice-Pres., 1931-32, 1934-35).
- 1926. Cardon, The Rev. Fr. R., Bishop's House, 31, Victoria Street, Singapore. (Council., 1934-37; Vice-Pres., 1938-40).
- 1925. *1937. Carey, H. R., The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1921. Cavendish, A., 3, Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London, S.W. 10.

1921. Chasen, F. N., Raffles Museum, Singapore.
(Council, 1925 ; Hon. Secretary, 1927-1940).
- *1924. Cheeseman, H. R., Education Dept., Singapore.
1936. Chew Lian Seng., 17, North Canal Road, Singapore.
- *1913. Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1927. Clark, B. F., Pontianak, Dutch West Borneo,
N.E.I.
- *1926. Clark, G. C., c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd.,
St. Helen's Court, Great St. Helen's, London,
E.C. 3.
- *1911. Clayton, T. W.
1929. Cobden-Ramsay, A. B., M.C.S., District Officer,
Kuala Selangor, Seangor, F.M.S.
1922. Coe, Capt. T. P., M.C., M.C.S., Director-General of
Posts and Telegraphs, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1936. Coldham, J. C., Raub Australian Gold Mine, Raub,
Pahang, F.M.S.
1936. Cole, W., M.C.S.
- *1920. Collenette, C. L., 107, Church Road, Richmond,
England.
1926. Collins, G. E P., Nederlandsh Indische Handels-
bank, Makassar, Celebes, N.E.I.
1926. Coope, The Hon'ble Mr. A. E., M.C.S.
1936. Cooper, E. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1929. Corner, E. J. H. Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
(Council, 1934-35, 1939-40).
1925. Corry, W. C. S., M.C.S, Federal Secretariat, Kuala
Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1921. Coulson, N., M.C.S., District Officer, Seremban,
Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.,
1921. Cowap, J. C., Springfield, Lower Pennington Lane,
Lymington, Hants, England.
- *1923. Cowgill, J. V., M.C.S., Director-General of Posts
and Telegraphs, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1938. Creer, J. K., M.C.S., District Officer, Raub, Pahang
F.M.S.
1938. Crosse, A. J. G., M.C., Kukub Rubber Estate,
Pontian Kechil, Johore.
- *1921. Cullen, W. G., Bartolome Mitre, 559, Buenos
Aires, S. America.
1925. Cullin, E. G., c/o Gammon (Malaya), Ltd., 63,
Geylang Road, Singapore.
1927. Cumming, C. E., Floral Ville, Lahat Road, Ipoh,
Perak, F.M.S.

1923. Curtis, R. J. F., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- *1910. Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
1937. Damais, L. C., French Consulate-General, Batavia Centrum, Java, N.E.I.
1938. David, E. B., M.C.S.
1928. Davidson, W. W., Public Works Dept., Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1927. Davies, E. R., The High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1927. Dawson, C.W., M.C.S., c/o Minister for Defence, Singapore.
1923. Day, E. V. G., M.C.S., British Adviser, Perlis.
1930. De Vos, A. E. E., P.O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Del Tufo, M. V., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1922. Denny, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1934. Devonshire, G. E., Police Officers' Mess, Mount Pleasant Road, Singapore.
1897. Dickson, E. A., 18, Dunkel Road, Bournemouth, England.
- *1921. Dickson, The Rev. P. L., Western House, The Park, Nottingham, England.
1926. Director of Forestry, S.S. and Adviser on Forestry, Malay States, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1926. Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1923. Doscas, A. E. C., Department of Agriculture, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1936. Douglas, Dato F. W., Private Secretary to H. H. the Sultan of Selangor, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Duff, Dr. W. R., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1915. Dussek, O. T.
1934. Dyer, Prof. W. E., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
1931. Earl, L. R. F., M.C.S., District Office, Province Wellesley.
- *1922. Ebdon, The Hon'ble Mr. W. S., M.C.S., Resident Councillor, Malacca.
1922. Eckhardt, H. C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
1922. Edgar, A. T., M.B.E., Suffolk Estate, Sitiawan, Perak, F.M.S.
1934. Edmonds, A., J.P., C.H., Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.

1927. Education Department, The., Alor Star, Kedah.
 1885. Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow,
 Mayfield, Sussex, England.
 1921, *1939. Elder, Dr. E. A., British Dispensary, Singapore.
 1932. English School Union, The, Muar, Johore.
 1913. Ermen, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down,
 Bath, Somerset, England.
 *1923. Eu Tong Seng, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
 1924, *1940. Evans, I. H. N. (Vice-Pres., 1926-27; 1928-30).
 1936. Evans, Dr. L. W., General Hospital, Singapore.
 1927. Farrelly, G. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
 1909. Farrer, R. J., C.M.G., c/o Mr. Winckel, Groote
 Postweg, 439, Bandoeng, Java. (Council, 1925-
 27).
 *1911. Fergusson-Davie, The Rt. Rev. C. J., Fort Hare
 University, Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa.
 (Council., 1912-13).
 1937. Ferguson, D. S., Drainage and Irrigation
 Department, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
 1917. Finlayson, Dr. G. A., "Changi", West Moors,
 Dorset, England.
 *1919. Finnie, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
 *1897. Flower, Major S. S., Old House, Park Road, Tring,
 Herts, England.
 1928. Foenander, E. C., 293, Fort Road, Klang, Selangor,
 F.M.S.
 1923. Forest Botanist, The Forest Research Institute,
 Dehra, Dun, U.P., India.
 1921. Forrer, H. A., M.C.S.
 *1918. Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue,
 Bekerley, California, U. S. A. (Council, 1923;
 1926-27).
 1935. Francois, The Rev. Fr. J.P., Church of St. Michael,
 Ipoh, Perak.
 *1908. Freeman, D., 96, Priory Road, West Hampstead,
 London, N.W. 6, England.
 *1910. Frost, M.
 *1912. Gallagher, W. J., 72, Courtfield Gardens, London,
 S.W. 5, England.
 1931. Gardiner, E. A., c/o Public Works Dept., Ipoh,
 Perak.
 1923. Gater, Prof. B. A. R., M.A., College of Medicine,
 Singapore.
 1934. Gates, R. C., M.C.S., co-Operative Societies Dept.,
 Singapore.

1928. Geake, F. H., Customs and Excise Laboratory, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1920. Geale, Dr. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
- *1926. George, J. R., c/o Chartered Bank, London, England.
1923. Gilmour, A., M.C.S., Shipping Controller, S.S., Singapore.
1936. Gibson, L. D., M.C.S.
- *1922. Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W. 1, England.
1937. Goode, A. N., M.C.S., Colonial Treasury, Singapore.
1920. Gordon-Hall, Capt. W. A., M.C.S., Commissioner, Trade and Customs, Johore.
1926. Goss, P. H., Survey Department, Penang.
1939. Goss, N. F., 48, Park Place, South Yarras, Victoria.
1926. Green, R. T. B., Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1929. Gregg, J. F. F., M.C.S., District Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
1931. Gregory, C. P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan.
1926. Grice, N., M.C.S.
1922. Gubbins, W. H. W., 7, Wise Road, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1935. Gunji, K., Japanese Consulate-General, New Zealand.
- *1923. Hacker, Dr. H. P., Zoological Department, University College, London, W.C. 1, England.
1923. Haines, Major O.B., S.O.S. Estate, Selama, Perak, F.M.S.
1924. Hamzah bin Abdullah, M.C.S., District Officer, Ulu Selangor, Selangor, F.M.S.
1933. Hannay, H. C., P.O. Box 64, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Harpur, W. A., c/o Pinang Gazette Press, Penang.
1937. Harrison, B., Raffles College, Singapore. (Council, 1938-1940).
1921. Hashim The Hon'ble Capt. N.M., M.L.C., I.S.O., 16, St. Michael's Road, Singapore. (Council, 1938-1940).
- *1926. Hastings, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1925. Hay, A. W., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate (Labour), Singapore.
1919. Hay, M. C., M.C.S., Land Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.

- *1904. Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Brooklands, 11, Warwick New Road, Leamington Spa, England.
- 1932. Hayward, M. J., M.C.S., c/o State Secretariat, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1936. Headly, D., M.C.S.
- 1930. Heath, R. G., Agriculture Department, Kota Bahru Kelantan.
- 1921. Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1928; Hon. Tr., 1928-1934).
- *1923. Hicks, E. C., Education Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1922. Hill, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock Road, Singapore.
- 1927. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Princes Street, Westminster, S.W. 1, London, England.
- 1935. Ho Seng Ong, Anglo-Chinese School, Malacca.
- 1938. Hockenhull, A. J. W., Police Officer, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
- *1923. Hodgson, D. H., Forest Department, Seremban, F.M.S.
- 1921. Holgate, M. R., Education Office, Singapore.
- 1922. Holttum, R. E., M.A., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Hon. Tr., 1923-26, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1929, 1936, 1937; Council, 1933, 1935, 1940).
- 1933. Hooakaas, Dr. S., Singaradja, Bali, Java, N.E.I.
- *1921. Hoops, Dr. A. L., C.B.E., (Vice-Pres., 1930; Council, 1933-34).
- 1897. Hose, E. S., C.M.G., The Manor House, Normandy, Guilford, England. (Vice-Pres., 1923-25; Pres., 1924).
- 1938. Hough, G. C., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
- 1932. Hughes, T. D., M.C.S., Magistrate's Court, Penang.
- 1936. Hughes-Hallett, H., M.C.S.
- 1935. Humphrey, A. H. P., M.C.S., District Officer, Lower Perak, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1922. Hunt, Capt. H. North., M.C.S., Statistics Office, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- 1921. Hunter, Dr. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
- 1923. Idris bin Ibrahim, Wan, Land Office, Johore Bahru, Johore.
- *1926. Ince, H. M., Kencot Lodge, Nr. Lechlade, Glos., England.
- 1930. Ince, R. E., Segamat English School, Segamat, Johore.

1922. Irvine, Capt. R., M.C.S., Secretary to High Commissioner, c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1926. Irving, Mrs. G. C., c/o Topo Survey Office, Kulim, Kedah.
- *1921. Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1936. Jackson, W. B., J.P., Christmas Island, S.S.
1927. Jamieson, M., Government Analyst, Singapore.
- *1921. Jermyn, L. A. S., Education Office, Malacca.
1932. Joachim, E. J., Kapoevas Rubber Estate, Soengei Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1910. Johnson, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton, Sussex, England.
- *1918. Jones, E. P.
- *1913. Jones, The Hon'ble Mr. S. W., C.M.G., M.C.S., Colonial Secretary, (Council 1935 ; Vice-President for the F.M.S. 1937 ; President, 1940).
- *1919. Jordan, The Hon'ble Mr. A. B., M.C.S., Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Singapore.
1932. Joynt, The Hon. Mr. H. R., M.C.S.
1921. Kassim bin Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, H.H. Tungku, Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1921. Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R.
1926. Keith, H. G., Forest Dept., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- *1921. Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.O., Chegar, Perah, Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1920. Ker, W. P. W., c/o Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.
1926. Khoo Sian Ewe, The Hon'ble Mr., 24, Light Street, Penang.
1921. Kidd, The Hon'ble Mr. G. M., M.C., M.C.S., British Resident, Selangor, F.M.S.
1926. Kingsbury, Dr. A. N., Medical Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1931. Kirkwood, T. M., Millfield Street, Somerset, England.
1921. Kitching, T., c/o Survey Office, Singapore.
1935. Lai Tet Loke, The Hon'ble Mr., 121, Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1929. Langlade, Baron F. de., c/o Socfin Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 330, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1927. Laycock, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore.

1923. Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.
- *1921. Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
- *1922. Leggate, J., "Troggett's", Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, England.
- *1913. Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.
1920. Lendrick, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.
1935. Lennox, W. W. M., M.C.S.
- *1925. Leonard, R. W. F., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
1938. Lewis, Ivor Lewis., c/o The Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1922. Leyne, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Seminyih, Selangor, F.M.S.
1936. Lim, C. O., Bankruptcy Office, Penang.
1925. Linehan, The Hon. Dr. W., M.A., D.Litt., M.C.S., Director of Education, Singapore.
1934. Lloyd, W., Ulu Tiram Estate, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1928. Loch, Charles W., 8, Wickwood Court, Woodstock Road, St. Albans, Herts, England.
1918. Loh Kong Imm, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. London, The Hon. Mr. G. E., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1933. Lopez, A. G., The Sao Jose, Ayer Salak Road, Malacca.
1930. Luckham, H. A. L., M.C.S., Legal Adviser, Trengganu.
1936. Lyle, C. W., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1907. Lyons, The Rev. E. S., 1089, Wash, 35th Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
- *1920. MacBryan, G. T. M., 1, Woodstock House, 11, High Street, Marylebone, W. 1, England.
- *1933. Macdonald, P. J. W., Laan Cornelius, 7, Batavia Centrum, Java, N.E.I.
1929. Mace, N., Simanggang, Sarawak.
- *1930. MacFadyen, E., c/o The Sports Club, London, England.
1934. MacHacopian, 26A, Orchard Road, Singapore.
1939. Maclean, Mrs. Deborah L., Chartered Bank House, Medan, Sumatra. N.E.I.

1936. Macpherson, J. S., M.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria, Africa.
- 1935, *1937. MacTier, R. S., c/o The Glen Line Ltd., 20, Billiter Street, London, E.C. 3.
1936. McElwaine, Sir Percy, K.C., The Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Singapore.
1936. McHugh, J. N., c/o Public Works Dept., Taiping, Perak.
1935. McLeod, D. S., Bakau and Kenya Extract Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1936. McPherson, Dr. Daniel Ross, General Hospital, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1930. Madden, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Mahmood bin Haji Mohamed, Said Dato' Adika Raja., District Officer, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1937. Mahmood Mahyidden, Tenku., S.M.K., Kn. C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1929. Mahmud bin Jintan, Education Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1936. Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf, Tengku, Govt. English School, Pekan, Pahang.
1903. Makepeace, W., 79, Henleaze Road, Westbury on Trym, Bristol, England. (Council, 1914; 1916; 1920; Hon. Libr., 1909-12; Vice-Pres., 1917., Hon. Sec. 1918-19).
1932. Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca.
1926. Malay College, The, Kuala Kangsar.
1935. Mallal Bashir A., 24, Raffles Place, Singapore.
1927. Malleson, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak, F.M.S.
1916. Mann, W. E., P.O. 14, Batavia, Java, N.E.I.
1938. Mare, D. W. le, c/o Fisheries Office, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- *1907. Marriner, J. T.
1934. Martin, J. M., Colonial Office, London, S.W. 1., England.
- *1925. Martin, W. M. E.
1921. Mather, N. F. H., M.C.S., c/o The Land Office, Kedah.
1921. Maxwell, C. N., Maryland Estate, Lumut, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1922, *1938. May, Percy W., 6, Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W. 4, England.
1928. Mee, B. S., Forest Dept., Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.

1927. Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, District Officer, Temerloh, Pahang, F.M.S.
1936. Meikle, R. H., c/o Rubber Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1928. Meyer, L. D., Revenue Survey Officer, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Middlebrook, S. M., M.C.S., Immigration Officer, S.S. & F.M.S., Singapore.
- *1926. Miles, C. V., c/o Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
1925. Miller, G. S., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1921. Miller, J. Innes., M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1932. Miller, N. C. E., Dept., of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1925. Milles, G. R., Kyonkooat, Thanbyuzayat, Mul-mein, Burma.
1926. Mills, J. V. (Council, 1919-30, 1932-33 ; 1936-38, Pres., 1937).
1933. Milne, Mrs. C. E. Lumsden, Govt. English School, Muar, Johore.
1922. Mohamed Idid bin Ali Idid, The Hon. Tuan Sayid, Alor Star, Kedah.
1922. Mohamed Ismail Merican, Superintendent of Education, Alor Star, Kedah.
1936. Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu, The High School Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1922. Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji, D.P.M.J., P.I.S., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1933. Mohamed Said bin Mohamed, Dr., The Hospital, Pekan, Pahang, F.M.S.
1921. Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, The Hon. Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1921. Mohamed Sheriff bin Osman, The Hon. Che', Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1926. Morice, J., Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1920. Morkill, A. G.
1926. Mumford, E. W., Railway Police, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1915. Mundell, H. D., c/o Sisson & Delay, Singapore. (Council, 1938).
1930. Murdoch, Dr. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan, Perak, F.M.S.
1934. Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku, Magistrate's Court, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
1934. Nightingale, H. W., M.C.S., c/o The Treasury, Penang.

1933. Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, Dato Seri Setia Raja, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1938. Noone, H. D., M.A., The Perak Museum, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Norgaard, O. S., c/o The East Asiatic Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1939. Ong, T. W., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore.
1916. Ong Boon Tat, J.P., 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
1935. Oppenheim, H. R., Peet Marwick, Mitchel & Co., Hongkong Bank Building, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Osman bin Haji Dahat, Supreme Court, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1931. Osman bin Taat, District Officer, Kroh, Upper Perak, Perak, F.M.S.
1920. O'Sullivan, T. A., Inspector of Schools, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1913. Overbeck, H., Klitren Lor, 48, Djokjakarta, Java, N.E.I.
1925. Owen, A. I., Post Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan F.M.S.
1929. Pagden, H. T., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1908. Parr, C. W. C., C.M.G., O.B.E., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England.
1937. Pooley, F. G., Messrs. Presgrave and Mathews, Penang.
1922. Pasqual, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
- *1921. Paterson, Major H. S., M.C.S.
1937. Payne, E. M. F., 53, Trinity Road, Ware, Herts, England.
1937. Payne, Dr. C. H. Withers, c/o Drew & Napier, Collyer Quay, Singapore.
1933. Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Singapore.
1928. Pease, R. L., Telok Pelandok Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1934. Peel, J., M.C.S., c/o Malayan Establishments Office, Singapore.
1931. Peet, G. L., The Straits Times, Singapore.
1926. Penang Library, The, Penang.
- *1921. Pendlebury, H. M., Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1926. Pengilley, E. E., M.C.S., British Resident, Bunei.
- *1925. Penrice, W., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.

1914. Pepys, The Hon'ble Mr. W. E., C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1938. Persekutuan Guru-guru Melayu, Negri Sembilan, Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- *1920. Peskett, A. D., Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
1939. Pillay, Sandy Gurumathan, 22, Bonham Building, Singapore.
- *1921. Plummer, W. P.
1928. Powell, I. B., 100, Westward Rise, Barry, Glam, Wales, England.
1932. Pretty, The Hon. Mr. E. E. F., M.C.S., Financial Secretary, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1935. Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1926. Rae, Colonel The Hon'ble Cecil, C.B.E., P.O. Box 134, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1934. Raffles College, The, Singapore.
1937. Ramani, Radha Krishna, Advocate and Solicitor, 47, Cross Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1934. Rambaut, A. E., Forest Office, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1932. Rawlings, G. S., M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1916. Rayman, L., M.C.S., President, Municipal Commissioner, Singapore.
- *1924. Reed, J. G., Sungkai, Perak, F.M.S.
1937. Regester, P. J. D., c/o Messrs. Hogan, Adam & Allan, Penang.
- *1910. Reid, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Perak, F.M.S.
1930. Rentse, A., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- *1921. Rex, The Hon'ble Mr. Marcus, British Resident, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Rigby, W. E., M.C.S. c/o The Treasury, Singapore.
1938. Robb, L. T. A., Messrs. Robb & Nilson, Guthrie Building, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1926. Robinson, P. M., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3, England.
1937. Robson, J. H. M., Post Box No. 250, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1938. Rogers, Dr. G., The Hospital, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1936. Ross, A. N., M.C.S., Govt. House, Singapore.

1931. Samuel, P., 489, Swettenham Road, Seremban, F.M.S.
1934. Sanders, Dr. Margaret M., c/o The General Manager, F.M.S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1923. Sanson, Hon. Mr. C. H., Police Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1934. Santry, D., Slamat, Packhorse Road, Bessel Green, Sevenoaks, England.
1934. Sassoon, J. M., 8, de Souza Street, Singapore.
- *1896. Saunders, C. J., The Lawn, Barcombe Mills, nr. Lewes, Sussex, England.
1935. Schneeberger, Dr. W. F., c/o Bat. Petr. My. Tasakan, Tasakan, East Borneo, N.E.I.
1935. Schweizer, H., c/o Diethelm & Co., Singapore.
- *1920. Scott, Dr. W., Sungai Siput, Perak.
- *1915. See Tiong Wah, Balmoral Road, Singapore.
- 1922, *1939. Steen Sehested, 63, Geylang Road, Singapore.
- *1927. Sells, H. C., Satuan Burnham, Buokinghamshire, England.
1937. Seri Maharaja, Tengku, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1934. Sheehan, J. J., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Muar, Johore.
1925. Shelley, M. B., C.M.G., c/o The Sports Club, 8, St. James' Square, London, S.W. 1, England. (Council., 1930-31; Vice-President., 1934).
1929. Sheppard, M. C. Ffrank, M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1927. Simpson-Gray, L. C., M.C.S., District Officer, Tampin, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
- *1909. Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, England.
1931. Singam, S. Durai Raja, c/o Mahmud School, Raub, Pahang, F.M.S.
1934. Sivapragasam, T., co-operative Societies Dept., Fullerton Building, Singapore.
1935. Skeat, W. W., "Pixies Holt" Lyme Regis, Dorset, England.
- *1926. Sleep, A., M.C.S., c/o The State Treasury, Johore.
1922. Small, Sir Alexander, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C.S. (Vice-Pres., 1936-1938; Pres., 1939).
1936. Smith, G. A., c/o J. A. Wattie & Co., Ltd., Surabaya, Java, N.E.I.
1912. Smith, Prof. H. W., Papeari, Tahiti, Society Islands.

1924. Smith, J. D. M., M.C.S., Land Office Kedah.
- 1930, *1937. Soang, A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Dutch S. E. Borneo, N.I.
1928. Sollis, C. G., Education Office, Hongkong.
1910. Song Ong Siang, Sir, K.B.E., V.D., c/o Aitken and Ong Siang, Singapore.
1928. Stanton, W. A., Brooklands Estate, Banting, Selangor, F.M.S.
1925. Stark, W. J. K., Emigration Office, Madras, India.
- *1917. Stirling, W. G., c/o Cox & King, Haymarket, London, England. (Council, 1923-25, 1927-29).
1930. Strahan, A. C., Education Office, Telok Anson, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.S.
1927. Sungai Patani Govt. English School, Sungai Patani, Kedah.
- *1918. Sykes, G. R., M.C.S.
1930. Symington, C. F., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
1937. Tacchi, A. C., Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1908. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96, First Cross Street, Malacca.
- *1926. Tan Soo Bin., 9, Boat Quay, Singapore.
1913. Tayler, C. J., Telok Manngis Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1928. Taylor, E. N., M.C.S., Official Assignee, Singapore. (Council 1933).
1935. Thatcher, G. S., Executive Engineer, Kluang, Johore.
1938. Thomas, F., B.A., St. Andrew's School, Singapore.
- *1921. Thomas, L. A., c/o Police Office, Singapore.
1936. Thornett, B. R., 80, Perry Rise, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 23, England.
1938. Traeger, Miss G. L. Principal, Anglo-Chinese Girls' School, Chamberlain Road, Ipoh.
1930. Turner, H. G., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1935. Turner, R. N., M.C.S., Assistant Resident, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1932. Tweedie, M. W. F., M.A., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Hon. Treasurer., 1936-1940).
1930. University Library, The, Rangoon, Burma.

1936. University Library, The Librarian, Triplicane, Madras, India.
1938. Vaux, F. G., Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson, Singapore.
1925. Venables, O. E., M.C.S., Commissioner of Lands and Mines, Johore.
1938. Vinen, G. H., c/o Christmas Island Phosphate Co., 86, Billiter Buildings, Billiter Street, London, E.C. 3., England.
1938. Voorhoeve, Dr. P., J. Tidemanlaan, 3, Pematang-siantar, Sumatra, N.E.I.
1937. Wade, G. H., c/o Borneo & Co., Penang.
- *1926. Waddell, Miss M. C.
1938. Wales, C. A., Tabanac Estate, Lahad Datu, *via* Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1931. Walker, F. S., Forest Office, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1926. Wallace, W. A., Tewantin *via* Cooroy, Queensland, Australia.
1932. Watherston, D. C., M.C.S.
1916. Watson, J. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
1938. Webb, G. W., M.C.S., Assistant Director of Education (Chinese) S.S., Singapore.
1935. White, L. E., Tebing Tinggi Estate, Kurial, Kelantan.
1927. White, The Ven. Graham, St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore.
1938. White, T. L., King Edward VII School, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1923. Whitfield, L. D., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Wilcoxson, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G., M. Y. Sentosa, Chios, Greece.
- *1926. Willan, T. L.
- *1921. Wilbourne, E. S., Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1922. Williams, F. L., M.C.S.
1935. Wilton, W. K., c/o Survey Dept., Singapore.
- *1910. Winkelman, H.
1937. Winsley, Capt. T. M., c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1938. Wolters, Oliver William, M.C.S.

1920. Woolley, G. C. Jesselton, British North Borneo.
- *1905. Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hants., England.
1937. Wright, A. Dickson, F.R.C.S., 43, Elsworthy Road, Regent's Park, N.W. 3, England.
1936. Wright, Miss E. Fowler, Sister's Quarters, General Hospital, Singapore.
- *1921. Wurtzburg, C. E., M.C., Glen Line, Ltd., 20, Billiter Street, London, England. (Council., 1924-26, 1930; Hon. Sec., 1925; Vice-Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-35; Pres. 1936).
1914. Wyly, A. J., 7, Piccadilly Mansions, 129, Oxford Road, Rosebank, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1936. Wynne, A. J., Drainage & Irrigation Dept., Kuatan, Pahang, F.M.S.
1926. Yahya bin Ahmad Afifi, Sheikh, 70, The Arcade, Singapore.
- *1923. Yates, H. S., 331, Jiannini Hall, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
- *1917. Yates, Major W. G.
1932. Yeh Hua Fen, The Rev., St. Mary's Church, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1920. Yewdall, Capt. J. C., "Seatoller", Meadway, Berkhamsted, Herts., England.
- *1904. Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, England.
1920. Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, c/o Office of the Director of Education, S.S.
1938. Zainal Abidin bin Raja Tachik, Raja, District Office, Tampin, Perak, F.M.S.

REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS IN KELANTAN¹

By M. W. F. TWEEDIE, M.A.
(Curator, Raffles Museum).

(Plates I—XVI).

In July and August, 1939, exploration and excavation of caves and rock-shelters was carried out in the neighbourhood of Gua Musang, a settlement on the East Coast Railway in south Kelantan, about fifteen miles north of the Pahang border. Gua Musang was chosen as a centre for exploration on account of the large number of limestone hills in the country surrounding it, containing numerous caves and rock-shelters none of which has been explored previously by an archaeologist. Previous cave-exploration in Kelantan is confined to Mr. H. D. Noone's investigations at Gua Menter on the river Nenggiri about twenty miles north-west of Gua Musang (Noone, 1939) in an entirely separate group of hills.

Preliminary exploration was carried out along the railway southwards as far as Gua Ninek and to the north at Kemubu, and along the foot-path leading to the ancient Chinese settlement of Pulai, west of the railway. Trial trenches were dug at a number of sites and it was found that only caves or rock-shelters, the floors of which are at a considerable height (at least 10-15 m.) above the flat country surrounding the hills, yielded sufficient signs of habitation to be worth excavating. Caves of eminently habitable appearance at or near ground level were found to be nearly or quite barren of artefacts. The reason is presumably that the low-lying caves are liable to be flooded during the wet season, but when the rivers are at their normal level they appear deceptively dry and secure.

The sites chosen for controlled excavation were at Gua Madu, a large rock-shelter some three miles south of Gua Musang, and in caves situated high up in the precipitous side of the limestone hill overlooking Gua Musang station.

My sincere thanks are due to Dr. A. N. J. Th. à Th. van der Hoop of the Royal Batavia Society for valuable assistance in identifying a peculiar type of neolithic earthenware object and for permission to reproduce the photograph on pl. XIII and the drawing on fig. 5. Information kindly supplied by Mr. A. D. Brankston of the British Museum concerning pottery from Gua Musang is also gratefully acknowledged, and to Mr. A. Rentse of Kota Bharu, Kelantan thanks are due for his kindness in preparing the sketch map reproduced on fig. 2.

¹The study upon which this report is based was made possible by funds granted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

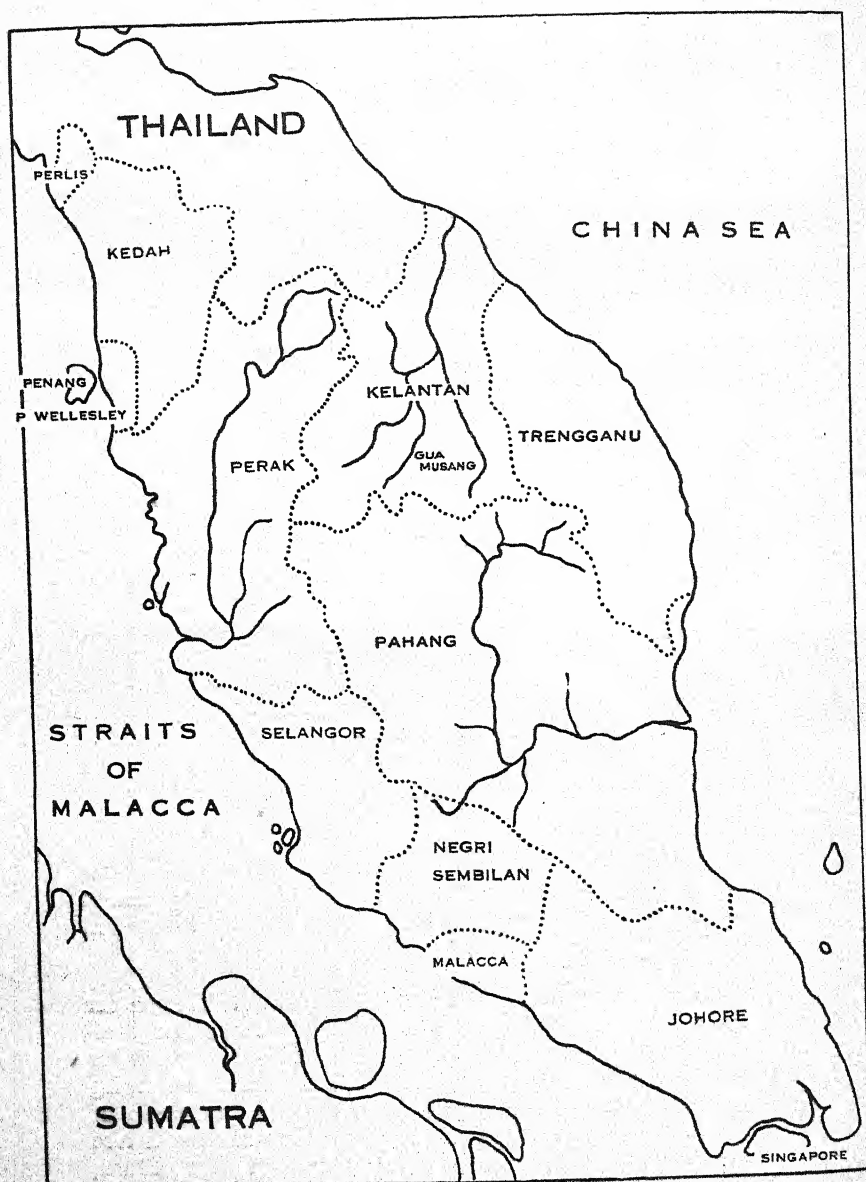


Fig. 1. Sketch map of the Malay Peninsula showing the position of Gua Musang in the state of Kelantan.

The excavation at Gua Madu.

The site. The large rock-shelter known as Gua Madu is situated on the western side of the limestone hill Batu Gua Madu which lies just to the south of Batu Papan about Lat. $4^{\circ} 50'N$. and Long. $101^{\circ} 57'E$. The old track between Gua Musang and Pulai (now superseded by a more direct route) runs just below it along the narrow strip of ground between the vertical and overhanging side of the hill and the river Galas which flows from south to north close past the rock-shelter (fig. 2). The distance along the track from Gua Musang is about three and a half miles. The height of the rock-shelter is very great, considerably more than the breadth of ground sheltered, so that it is in no sense a cave and the whole of it is directly illuminated by the sun during the greater part of the afternoon. The level of the floor is about 17 metres above the normal level of the river. High up in the back wall and only accessible by climbing is a small cave which, in contrast to the rock-shelter, is dark within a short distance of its entrance.

The greater part of the floor deposit has been removed by the local Chinese cultivators for use as fertiliser,¹ but fortunately a considerable isolated area remained in about the middle of the shelter which could be subjected to controlled excavation.

Here the deposit was slowly scraped away with bamboo spatulae and removed by a locally engaged labour gang under the supervision of the writer and two of the museum collectors. As each object of interest was uncovered its position relative to a fixed point was determined with a compass, clinometer and tape (see appendix). One half of the area was excavated first to obtain a complete vertical section, and this revealed that the deposit was uniform throughout and without visible stratification.

Gua Madu, the artefacts.

Stone implements of Hoabinhian type. A very large number of implements of this type was found in the rock-shelter; nearly 400 were picked up on the surface and among piles of stones left by the earth-gatherers, and half as many again were found in the excavation. They range from crudely worked pebble tools, hardly distinguishable from the most primitive palaeoliths, to well finished ovate or discoid implements, flaked on both sides over the whole of their surface. Some very large specimens were found, rivalling in size the largest found in river gravels near Kuantan (Collings, 1937 B). No

¹It is interesting to note that it is not only deposits of bat-guano that are valued as fertiliser by rice cultivators; floor deposits in open rock shelters, containing no bat-guano whatever are also found to be effective. There can be little doubt that this is due to the presence in the deposit of the bones, ash and other organic remains that accumulated during the period of stone-age habitation.

examples of the "Sumatra-type", pebble tools with the working wholly confined to one side, were encountered. Flakes, with and without secondary working were common (pl. III, 1, 2). Seventeen Hoabinhian implements were found in a shallow deposit in the small cave above the shelter.

Protoneoliths. These were very rare, only two being found in the excavation and one fragment among the surface finds. Of the former one is of the ordinary type, a small, elongate chipped tool, roughly ground on both sides to form an edge at one end (pl. IV, 2). The other (pl. IV, 1) is of a far more advanced type. It is a fairly large implement, 140 mm. in length and flaked over almost its whole surface. One end is carefully and smoothly ground to form a curved edge which is symmetrical about the longer axis of the implement and follows the curvature of its ovate outline. If it is regarded as an advanced Hoabinhian tool, it suggests evolution in the direction of the round-axe rather than towards the typical Malayan neolithic celt of the type illustrated on pl. VI.

Hammer-dressed round axes. One very fine specimen occurred among the surface finds (pl. V, 1). In the undisturbed deposit one fragment was found which clearly belongs to this type (pl. IV, 3) as is shown by the extent and large radius of curvature of the ground edge. Another fragment (pl. IV, 4) is less extensively ground and might be classified as a protoneolith. That part of the unbroken surface, however, that is not ground is clearly pecked or hammer-dressed; it could be regarded as intermediate between the two types.

The practice of working stone by hammer-dressing or percussion as opposed to flaking was not unknown to the Hoabinhian people; the "grip-marking" of pounding stones and fabricators was carried out in this way, c.f. fig. 2 on pl. V. It is not unreasonable to suppose that these round axes represent, in this country at least, the most advanced phase of the Hoabinhian stone culture.

Bone Implement. A single fine example of a bone gouge was found among the surface debris (pl. V, 4). Bone tools have been recorded in quantity in the Peninsula only from Perlis (Collings 1937 A, p. 100); single specimens were found in Kedah (Collings, l.c.) and at Gunong Senyum in Pahang (Evans 1927, p. 148). They are abundant in kitchen-middens in Indo-China and can be regarded as representing a northern culture which did not penetrate very far into the Malay Peninsula.

Bark-Cloth beater. A cross-hatched stone artefact of the type usually regarded as designed for making bark-cloth was found in undisturbed deposit at a depth of rather over a metre (pl. V, 3 and section II, pl. XV, No. 265). The level at which this implement was found (if this is admitted to have any significance) suggests that it was made and used contemporaneously with the Hoabinhian

culture, though whether it really belongs to that culture or was introduced from outside remains uncertain. With its evenly and deeply incised intersecting grooves it is an implement of a far more advanced type than the chipped and roughly ground tools typical of the Hoabinhian. Stone bark-cloth pounders have been found in Malaya with stone circlets of neolithic type (Evans 1927, p. 138), with pottery and neolithic implements at an open site in Pahang (Evans 1928 C), in an iron age granite cist (Evans 1928 A), and in débris left by earth-gathers in a cave in Kedah, together with Hoabinhian stone tools and neolithic pottery (Collings, 1936, p. 11). Wooden pounders of the same pattern are used by the present-day Malayan aborigines and elsewhere in Malaysia, and stone ones are recorded from Celebes (Evans 1928 A, pl. XLIII).

Neolithic implements. A single unfinished neolithic tool was among the surface finds in the rock-shelter (pl. V, 5). In the small cave above the shelter a well-finished and beautifully preserved neolithic adze was found in shallow deposit (pl. VI, 1) together with a few Hoabinhian implements and a fair amount of pot-sherds.

Other stone implements. Flat stones showing signs of use as grinding slabs were found in the rock-shelter; most of them are stained with haematite and were apparently used for making ruddle. Bruised river pebbles of the type usually classified as pounding stones were abundant. Some are stained with haematite, others, often showing signs of violent percussion, were probably fabricators for chipping stone tools. One of these is very distinctly "grip-marked", having an artificial depression on one side made by hammer-dressing (pl. V, 2). One flat, discoid tool has two shallow depressions pecked out on each side, the depressions being opposite each other as if an attempt was made to pierce the stone in two places.

Pieces of soft red haematite, often ground down on one side, were found abundantly.

Materials employed in making the stone artefacts. A wide range of rock types is found among the Hoabinhian tools. The finest specimens are made of hard, green chert; as a material for making flaked implements this is scarcely inferior to flint. Quartzite was also commonly employed and tools made of this very hard and refractory stone are quite devoid of patina or corrosion and look as if they have come straight from the hand of the maker. Many of the flat implements are made of dark or greenish coloured fissile shale or schist. A few specimens, including the fragment of a hammer-dressed axe (pl. IV, 3) are of volcanic tuff and various fine-grained igneous and metamorphic rocks were used, which would require sectioning for precise identification. Many of the pounding stones and one or two of the crudest implements are of white vein-quartz. The bark-cloth pounder is of fine-grained, ferruginous sandstone.

Pottery. In the rock-shelter pottery was conspicuously scarce. Only five fragments were found among the surface debris and four more in the superficial layers of the undisturbed deposit. None of them are sufficiently remarkable to merit description.

In the small, dark cave above the shelter potsherds were found in some abundance. The majority is of the common "cord-marked" variety, and partial reconstructions have been made of two vessels showing them to have been of considerable size; the diameter of the larger is estimated to be about 37 cm. A few sherds were found with interesting incised patterns (pl. VIII); one (pl. VIII, 5, 6) is unusual in having a pattern on the inner surface in addition to, and different from that on the outer.

Gua Madu. Food remains. Bones and teeth of vertebrate animals and shells of Melaniid and Unionid molluscs were found throughout the deposit in the shelter. The mammalian remains have been identified by Mr. F. N. Chasen, Director, Raffles Museum, who submits the following list and comments.—"Wild ox, *Bos* sp.; Goat antelope, *Capricornis sumatrensis* (Bech.); Barking deer, *Muntiacus muntjak* (Zimm.); Sambur deer, *Cervus unicolor* Kerr; Wild pigs, *Sus cristatus* Wagn. and *Sus barbatus* Müll.; Pig tailed Macaque, *Macaca nemestrina* (Linn.); Langurs, *Pithecus* sp. ? *femoralis* Mart. and *Pithecus* sp. ? *obscurus* (Reid); Bamboo-rat, *Rhizomys* sp. ? *sumatrensis* (Raff.); Malay bear, *Helarctos malayanus* (Raffles).

There is one interesting point about this list. The numerous remains of *Sus barbatus* prove that this pig is truly indigenous in the Malay Peninsula. The species has only recently been "discovered" in the Malay States and was hitherto known in the Peninsula only from the east coasts of Pahang and Johore. It has been suggested that the few known specimens are the remains of a herd imported for sporting purposes by a former Sultan of Johore. Otherwise the remains are those of animals which could easily be killed by a present day hunter based on the same cave.

In the present state of our knowledge and without much further material and study I do not feel inclined to apply modern subspecific names to these prehistoric remains which not infrequently differ in detail from the extant species with which they have been compared".

Gua Madu. Human remains. Two burials were discovered in the course of the excavation, both so incomplete that it is doubtful if the remains that have been preserved will be of anatomical value. One was a dispersal burial at very shallow depth (No. 371, section I, pl. XIV) and the other an extended burial at about 1 metre deep. The crushed skull was at No. 494 (section I) and the ribs and one humerus at 513. All the other bones had disappeared and it seems probable that the skeleton was disturbed by some ancient inhabitants of, or visitors to, the shelter and afterwards covered by subsequent deposits.

Gua Madu. Cultural stratification in the rock-shelter. For the purpose of illustrating the vertical distribution of the artefacts found in the controlled excavation, the central part of the irregularly shaped area excavated has been divided into three parallel strips running in the direction of the slope of the ground (fig. 3) and the objects plotted in each strip have been projected on a vertical section (pl. XIV-XVI). The south end of the area was largely occupied by a preliminary trial trench. In the north part evidence of disturbance of the deposit by cave-earth diggers became apparent in the course of excavation; for safety's sake section I is placed some distance south of the southern-most sign of such disturbance.

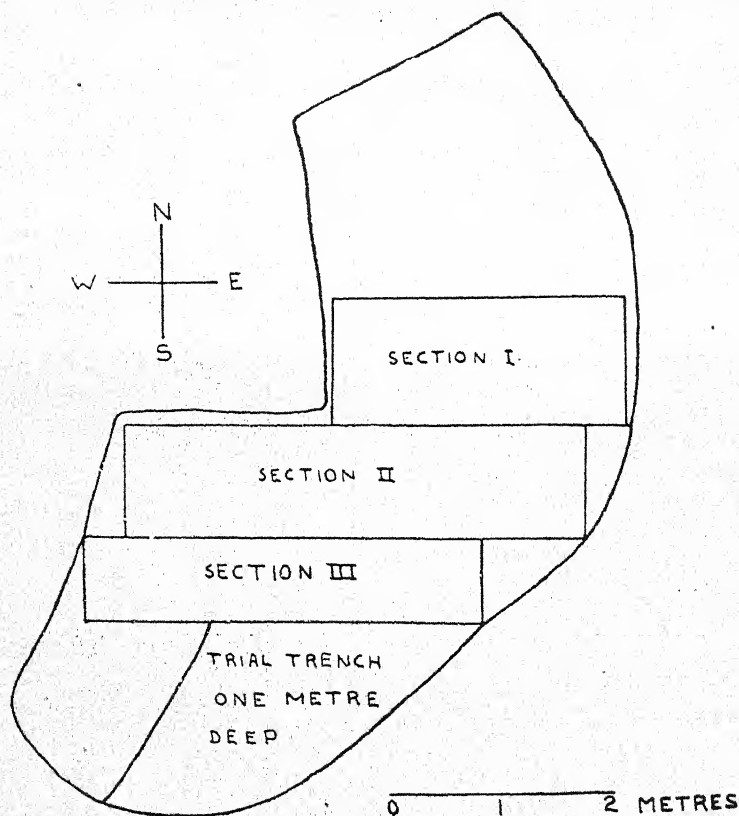


Fig. 3. Plan of excavation showing areas plotted on vertical Sections I, II and III (plates XIV — XVI).

It can be seen from the three sections that artefacts were most abundant in the higher layers of the deposit, becoming scarce below a depth of about one metre, and then, in places, rather more plentiful in the layer immediately overlying the rock floor.

While it cannot be said that any particular type of implement that was found in quantity is confined to the higher or lower levels, those found at shallow depth are, at their best, much better finished than any found near the bottom of the deposit. A series of six very well made implements is illustrated on plate I. Two of them are surface finds; the positions of the other four can be seen on Section I (pl. XIV) Nos. 359, 424 and on Section II (pl. XV) Nos. 169, 272. On plate II six of the best made implements from the lowest layers are illustrated; their positions are all plotted on Section II (pl. XV), Nos. 341, 342, 352, 363, 367, 374. The broken half of a very large implement (pl. III, 5) was found near the bottom of the deposit (No. 548 in Section I). No other tools of comparable size were found in the controlled excavation.

Crudely worked pebble tools, pieces of haematite and atypical artefacts such as pounding stones and flakes occurred at all levels but were far more abundant in the upper layers.

The distribution of the food remains is of some interest. Vertebrate, and particularly mammalian, bones were abundant in the upper layers, rich in artefacts, while molluscs were relatively scarce. In the more barren deposits below one metre bones were rare but Melaniid and Unionid shells occurred constantly and in considerable quantity, though they never formed definite layers. It would appear that the early inhabitants of the shelter were of a food-gathering rather than a hunting type, and that they evolved into (or were succeeded by) a race of skilful hunters.

Ash was present throughout the whole deposit and in the lower parts irregular layers of hard, stalactitic material were frequent consisting of ash and cave-earth cemented by calcium carbonate. I suspect that these layers were formed by percolating water charged with calcium carbonate, and bear no direct relation to the stratification of the deposit.

Gua Madu. A calcareous breccia of uncertain age. The rock encountered at the bottom of the excavation was not limestone, but a conglomerate of more or less rounded river pebbles mixed with grit and sand, all sealed by calcareous cement into a hard breccia. This formation was encountered exposed in vertical section in the northern side of the rock-shelter. Here its base is 14 metres above normal river level, and in the excavation, further back in the rock-shelter, it is about a metre higher. It is inconstant in thickness the maximum observed being between 70 and 80 cm. Towards the southern end of the excavation it thinned out and over a small area the culture deposit rested on the basal limestone.

Several days were spent in searching for fossils and some molluscs were found, mainly in a pocket of calcareous sandstone devoid of pebbles. All but one were land-shells belonging to species inseparable, in my opinion, from those inhabiting this and other

limestone hills today. *Prosopas swettenhami* de Morgan was the commonest form, and I was able to recognise *Lagochilus townsendi* Crosse, *Cyclophorus* sp. (fragments), *Kaliella* c.f. *perakensis* Nev. and *Microcystina* sp. the last two are identical with forms found living in the neighbourhood but I am not certain of their specific identity. A single small Melaniid was found, possibly a very young *Thiara variabilis* (Bens.). A few scraps of bone occurred but no identifiable vertebrate fossils.

The breccia must have been deposited by a stream that flowed over the floor of the rock-shelter and possibly led to its formation by undercutting the cliff. This stream was probably the counterpart of the present river Galas which has since cut its way down to a lower level. At present the rock-floor of the shelter is well out of reach of floods, being 14 to 15 metres above normal river level. Moreover, no flood of violence sufficient to transport pebbles and small boulders can have flowed through it since Hoabinhian times, as this would have quickly washed away the loosely consolidated culture deposit; it was presumably secure from flooding during the period of its habitation and probably for some time previously.

A bed of quartz sand, presumed to have been deposited by a stream was found near the bottom of a floor deposit in a cave in Bukit Chintamani, Pahang (Tweedie, 1936, p. 19) at a height of about 30 metres above the level of the ground surrounding the hill.

The caves above Gua Musang station.

The sites. High up in the steep side of the limestone hill overlooking Gua Musang railway station is an extensive system of caves. There are several openings facing north-west (overlooking the railway) but the caves are only accessible at present through a long and very narrow cleft in the rock, the wider openings all being situated in the precipitous face of the hill. A steep path leads to the cleft as the caves are used as a source of fertiliser by the local cultivators, the material in this case being true bat-guano. From the system of caves facing north-west it is possible, with the aid of lamps, to make ones way across to another series of openings on the opposite side of the hill, one of which is accessible from below. The large cave above and to the south-west of the chamber reached by the approach cleft has a wide opening and has been extensively exploited for guano, though far more still remains than has been taken out. It is not carried out through the cleft but is thrown out of the opening and collected from below. In this cave a quantity of potsherds was found among débris, and three polished neolithic implements (pl. VI, 2-4). A small area of undisturbed deposit remained near the opening and excavation of this showed that the potsherds came mainly from a thin layer of ash and charcoal 10 to 15 centimetres below the surface. Below this they became rapidly scarcer and none were found below 30 to 40 centimetres.

Further exploration revealed another much smaller cave, also facing north-west and above and south-west of the former. Here the floor deposit was quite undisturbed and trenches revealed that abundant potsherds were present, associated, as before, with a shallow layer of ash. Owing to the great abundance of material concentrated in a single thin layer just under the surface, excavation was carried out by removing the deposit in layers of 15 centimetres without the use of instruments. It was found that by far the greater part of the material occurred in the topmost layer, which included the thin stratum of ash. The second layer (15-30 cm.) yielded about 20% of the quantity in the first and in the third (30-45 cm.) very little was found. Below this depth the deposit was completely barren. Altogether over two thousand potsherds were found in this cave with five typical and four atypical neolithic implements and one broken chipped implement of Hoabinhian type.

Gua Musang. The neolithic implements. Three neolithic implements were found on the surface in the large cave (pl. VI, 2-4). One is of very fine-grained black stone, one of dark crystalline rock and the third of dark coloured schist. All appear to have had a serviceable cutting edge, now chipped and blunted, presumably by use, but none are as well finished as, for instance, the specimen from the cave above Gua Madu rock-shelter; in all three the original flake-scars have not been completely ground away.

In the smaller cave four small adzes and a broken implement were found in undisturbed deposit (pl. VI, 5-9) all except one of the former being in the topmost layer, *i.e.* within 15 cm. of the surface; the other was in the second layer. The four adzes are all rather rough and unfinished and two are very small, being less than 5 cm. in length. One of these is of fine-grained light green stone and the other three are of dark coloured stone, two of crystalline schist and the third of fine, black shale. In the broken specimen the whole of the distal end is broken off but the remainder is symmetrical and well ground; it is made of a whitish rock.

Two small fusiform implements, pointed at each end (pl. VII, 1, 2) were found in the second layer. They are made of shale, not very hard, and may be classified as awls or borers. Another artefact, somewhat similar but flattened and with the pointed ends obtuse and blunt was found in the third layer, 30-45 cm. deep (pl. VII, 3). Lastly, a smooth piece of limestone (pl. VII, 4) neatly truncated at the smaller end and bruised at the larger occurred in the top layer. It has the appearance of a pestle. A sea-shell, a single valve of *Meretrix meretrix* (L.) occurred, also in the top layer.

Gua Musang. The pottery. A great quantity of broken potsherds was found in these two caves, the greater part being in shallow, undisturbed deposit in the smaller cave. No complete vessels were

obtained but reconstructions have been made of several by fitting sherds together, and from these the form of some of the vessels can be seen.

Types of ware. Two very distinct types of ware occurred. The most abundant is black or dark brown in colour, variously ornamented, and with the smooth parts often burnished or polished. Exceptionally shards of this ware are light brown or dull reddish in colour, probably due to heating under oxidising conditions either by accident in the process of baking or during use as cooking vessels. The ware is always coarse in texture and is tempered with large grains of sand and grit. The other type of ware has a smooth surface of a deep red colour. It is generally thicker than the black and is never ornamented. Its internal texture is similar to that of the dark coloured ware. The shards of this ware all appear to be fragments of a single peculiar type of object (*vide infra*). Pottery of this type is recorded by H. D. Collings from Baling, Kedah (1936, pl. XII, fig. 1) and from Bukit Chuping, Perlis (1937 A, p. 108). Dr. van der Hoop informs me (*in litt.*) that an identical type of ware is found in neolithic funeral urns in Sumba Island, but the form of the vessels is different.

Shards of both kinds of ware were sent to the British Museum for expert opinion on the nature of the smooth external coating. The following passage is quoted from a letter written in reply by Mr. A. D. Brankston:

"As for the nature of the coatings on the sherds, I think they may be compared with those on some early Chinese wares.

The black is caused by the firing having taken place in a reducing atmosphere, perhaps with the addition of sawdust in the furnace during the final stages. This reduces any iron present and coats the vessel with soot or carbon. Afterwards the vessel was polished.

The red pottery was fired in an oxidising atmosphere and the colour is mainly due to iron oxide.

Probably the technique was similar to that of the Chinese. The surface of the vessel, before firing, was coated with fine silt or slip and carefully finished. After firing, further polishing or burnishing was probably possible.

Some of the fragments that are red outside, have grey cores. This is because the firing was not long enough, and complete oxidation did not take place."

Ornamentation. Only the dark coloured pottery is ornamented. By far the commonest type is "cord-marking", or the impression of a pattern by means of twisted string wound round a spatula or

cylinder. The string may be coarse or fine and the impression may be single or, as is more usual, double, resulting in a reticulate pattern of squares or rhombs. The rims of the vessels are usually smooth and may be double (pl. XI, 1, 2) or even treble (pl. X, 3). A fairly wide smooth area is sometimes left below the rim and only the lower part of the vessel cord-marked. Simple incised or impressed patterns are sometimes found on the rims, but they are exceptional. Instances of these were found in the cave above Gua Madu rock-shelter (pl. VII) and a few more in the present site (pl. IX, 5, 6).

The vessels of dark coloured ware. Complete reconstructions have been made of two vessels. One (pl. X, 2) is a small, very well finished bowl, 20 cm. in diameter and 6.5 cm. deep, black in colour with the rim and inside burnished and the outside, below the rim, cord-marked. The other (pl. X, 1) is a large bowl 36 cm. in diameter and 22.5 cm. deep with the rim slightly everted and the sides vertical in their upper half. The outside is rather coarsely cord-marked to within 2 cm. of the rim and the inside is smooth and shows traces of burnishing.

Another small bowl (pl. X, 3) is devoid of surface ornament, but has an elaborate series of superimposed rims. From the way in which it has fractured it is apparent that the bowl was first made with a single rim, which now forms the lowest of the three external ridges that encircle it. Next a second rim was made in the form of a ring and stuck on top of the first and then a third was superimposed in the same way. The joins form planes of weakness along which the vessel has broken, but except where fractures have occurred they are quite invisible, being concealed by the burnished external coating with which the finished vessel was covered. This bowl has a diameter of about 19 cm. and a depth of 12 cm.

On plate XI, 1, 2, are two reconstructed pieces of vessels showing a broad, smooth area between the rim and the cord-marked part below. On fig. 4, plate VIII is a piece of a vessel of rather coarse ware with thick, everted rim and cord marking impressed right up to the rim; there is not sufficient material to show its shape.

One of the most interesting specimens (pl. XII, 1) is a partly cord-marked earthenware object of dark coloured ware having the same peculiar form as those made of the red ware (*vide infra*). Its far greater abundance suggests that the dark coloured and black ware was in common use by the neolithic frequenters of the caves and that they made it themselves. If we admit the possibility that they obtained the red pottery from some other source the present specimen could be interpreted as an imitation of the extraneous type of vessel in their own ware.

Some small discs of pottery of this type were found, which appear to have been made by roughly grinding the edges of potsherds. They may, perhaps, be compared with those figured by Mansuy (1923, pl. IV, V), but they are without any incised pattern.

The objects of red ware. Several reconstructions were made from the shards of red pottery, some of which are shown on plate XII, 2-5. None are complete, but collectively they are sufficient to give a good idea of the form of the objects they represent, which consists of a flat dish on a hollow, conical stand, with a round hole in the centre of the dish opening into the hollow of the stand. A reconstruction in side elevation is given in fig. 4.

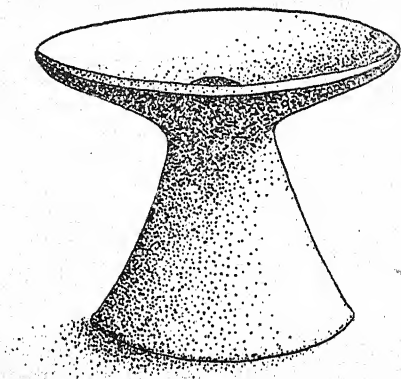


Fig. 4. Diagrammatic reconstruction of the type of vessel represented by the fragments of red ware, see plate XII.

The nature and purpose of these objects remained a complete mystery to me until Dr. van der Hoop, to whom I had sent specimens and a reconstruction, sent me a photograph and a diagrammatic

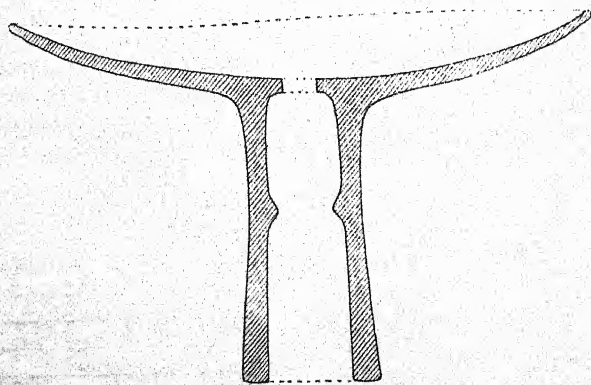


Fig. 5. Diagrammatic section of earthenware "potter's wheel" from Atjeh, Sumatra (see plate XIII); $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

section of one of three similar earthenware objects in the Batavia Museum from Atjeh in Sumatra; the photograph is reproduced on plate XIII and the section in fig. 5. They form part of a collection of potter's tools made by the well known ethnographer Professor Snouck Hurgronje, who describes them in the "Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap, 1900, Bijlage II, as follows (translation by Dr. van der Hoop);

"Nr. 9120-9122. *Para* or potter's wheel; implement made of baked clay in the shape of a flat dish without border on a cylindrical foot (*go*); dish and foot are perforated. The roughly shaped potter's clay is put on the dish; the potter turns the foot of the potter's wheel in his left hand and with his right hand he models the clay".

The close similarity between these objects and those of which fragments were found in the Gua Musang caves, and their peculiar design, unlike that of any ordinary earthenware vessels, strongly suggests that both were used for the same purpose.

Professor Hurgronje does not explain the purpose of the hole in the centre of the "wheel". In my opinion its most likely function is to admit a fixed wooden or bamboo spindle, the action of which would be to ensure that the apparatus rotated concentrically. A primitive potter's "wheel" or turn-table described by L. Wray (1903, p. 26, pl. I, 1, 0) from Perak consists of two superimposed wooden discs, the lower with a central peg on which the upper, centrally perforated disc revolves. A similar specimen from Kampong Pinang, Batu Bara, Sumatra is in the Raffles Museum. It is possible that this apparatus affords the clue to the *modus operandi* of the more complicated earthenware type, of which it may even be a degenerate derivative.

So far as can be seen all the shards of red ware are fragments of these "wheels"; the type of ware is so different from the dark coloured pottery that forms the bulk of the finds in these caves that I am tempted to believe that the neolithic people may have obtained the "wheels" from some extraneous source and occasionally tried to copy them in their own ware (*vide supra* and pl. XII, 1).

The red shards were found in undisturbed deposit intimately associated with the dark coloured pottery and the polished stone tools and there can be little doubt that they were in use at the same time.

Gua Musang. Cylindrical objects of burnt earth. A few fragments of what appear to be thick, cylindrical objects of baked or burnt earth were found together with the rest of the neolithic material. Some are crudely ornamented externally, others smooth. Their substance is soft and friable and without any tempering of sand and grit and they do not appear to have been burnt at a high temperature.

Two fragments are shown on plate XI; 3 shows the roughly ornamented external surface and 4 illustrates the great thickness and earthy texture of these objects.

The relation of the pottery to the neolithic implements.

An important result of these excavations is the evidence that the incised and cord-marked pottery that is such a general feature of the Malayan cave-deposits belongs to the true neolithic culture characterised by polished stone implements, and not to the culture represented by chipped implements of Hoabinhian type. This evidence may be recapitulated as follows:—

(1) In the rock-shelter at Gua Madu, where Hoabinhian tools were present in unusual abundance, potsherds were very scarce and only one neolithic celt was found, which came from the surface finds and not from the excavation. The few potsherds that were excavated came from the superficial layers.

(2) In the small dark cave above the rock-shelter potsherds were found in some quantity associated with a single neolith and some Hoabinhian tools.

(3) In the high caves overlooking Gua Musang station between two and three thousand fragments of broken pottery were obtained together with eight typical neolithic implements four other ground tools presumed to be of neolithic affinity, and only a single chipped implement.

In the Gua Madu rock-shelter we have an almost pure Hoabinhian stone culture and in the Gua Musang caves an almost pure neolithic; in the former pottery is conspicuous by its scarcity and in the latter is far more abundant than is usual in Malayan cave deposits. The presence of a certain number of Hoabinhian implements in the small cave at Gua Madu is not surprising considering the evidence for a long and crowded occupation by this culture of the rock-shelter just below.

There can be no doubt that the pottery and neoliths found in the Gua Musang caves were brought there by the neolithic people themselves, since with the exception of a single chipped implement there is no evidence that the caves were used by people of any other culture. The fact that almost all the pottery found at Gua Madu was in the small cave and not in the rock-shelter with the bulk of the Hoabinhian material points to the same conclusion.

A find of neolithic stone implements associated with pottery at an open site on the river Tembeling, Pahang, was reported on by I. H. N. Evans in 1928 ((1928 B)).

The only previous cave-excavation in Malaya that has yielded definite evidence of the association of pottery with the polished neolithic implements as opposed to those of Hoabinhian type was

that made by H. D. Noone at Gua Menterī in Kelantan, about 20 miles north-east of Gua Musang (Noone, 1939). There the deposit is said to show cultural stratification, the succession being divided by Mr. Noone into four stages. The lowest layer contained large Hoabinhian tools and no pottery the next produced small Hoabinhian tools and a little pottery, the third, flakes and chipped implements with a fair amount of pottery, and in the highest layer abundant pottery was found together with several polished neoliths.

In all the previous cave excavations in this country in which pottery has been found it has been associated with tools of Hoabinhian type and an occasional neolith in the upper layers of the deposits, becoming scarcer in the lower layers and in the deepest being usually absent.

A suggestion that the pottery was not made by the authors of the chipped implements was made on typological grounds by Collings (1936, p. 10), who suggested that the makers of the Gua Debu industry (a culture of Hoabinhian type) in Kedah lived as neighbours of a neolithic people and occasionally obtained possession of their more advanced artefacts and brought them back to the caves.

The excavations in Kelantan have shown, however, that the neolithic people, at least in some cases, used the caves themselves. While the supposition that the Hoabinhian and neolithic people inhabited the country to some extent simultaneously cannot be abandoned, the frequent mixing of neolithic pottery with Hoabinhian implements in the upper layers of the cave deposits may be due in some cases to the practice of the neolithic people of burying their dead in the floors of caves previously inhabited by men of Hoabinhian culture.

It is interesting to note that the pottery found with stone implements in the closely comparable cave deposits of Indo-China has long been regarded as being associated with the neolithic (upper neolithic) as opposed to the Bacsonian and Hoabinhian cultures (Mansuy, 1925, p. 33).

The use of the caves by the neolithic people.

From the evidence of his investigation at Gua Menterī Mr. Noone concludes that the neolithic people lived in the rock-shelter. I do not think, however, that they lived in the caves in the Gua Musang district. Those at Gua Musang are high and difficult of access and not suitable for habitation, while anyone living at Gua Madu would certainly stay in the rock-shelter rather than scramble up to the dark, bat-haunted little cave above it.

Furthermore, the potsherds found at Gua Musang were associated with a thin layer of ash and charcoal at 10-15 cm. below the present surface of the floor. Thick layers of ash, earth and food-remains, which are formed as a result of prolonged habitation, were wholly absent.

The presence of great quantities of potsherds led me to believe at first that the caves were used for ceremonies to which offerings of food were brought, contained in vessels which would frequently be broken accidentally or, possibly, deliberately as part of the ritual.

The discovery of the potter's wheels, however, lends colour to another hypothesis, namely that the caves were used for the manufacture of pottery. They would give the necessary shelter from the weather, and fires for baking the vessels could be made without the danger of conflagration that would be present in the thatched huts in which the people probably lived.

Opposed to this theory is the fact that no remains of ovens or kilns were found, and that the quantity of ash and charcoal in the floor deposit seemed to be far less than would be expected if the firing of pottery had been carried out in the cave for a long period.

It is hoped that future research will throw more light on this interesting question.

APPENDIX.

The use of the instruments employed for the controlled excavation.

In order to fix the positions of the artefacts in the deposit at Gua Madu surveying instruments were used. In place of the combined theodolite and compass used by the late Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels and others at various excavations in this country, direction, distance and level were determined with separate instruments, a prismatic compass, a steel tape and a clinometer of the pattern used by the F.M.S. Survey Department. The instruments were operated from a small plane table which was left permanently standing in the rock-shelter, centred over an arbitrarily chosen fixed point.

The compass can only be easily read when it stands near the edge of the table remote from the object. Care must therefore be taken to place it so that the centre of the table is directly in the line of sight when a bearing is observed.

Both the bearing and the distance are normally measured from the fixed point to the levelling staff, which is placed with its foot on the position occupied by the object to be measured; the staff must therefore be held exactly vertical.

If possible the fixed point should be chosen so that the top of the table is a little above the highest ground level of the area to be excavated. The lower part of the graduated staff will then be visible through the levelled sights of the clinometer and will continue so throughout unless the depth of the excavation is such that the top of the staff passes out of view. At Gua Madu I used an expanding staff graduated in centimetres with a maximum height of four metres.

If neither the bottom nor the top of the levelling staff can be seen through the levelled sights of the clinometer, a staff clearly marked at the height of the table (a piece of bamboo with a white rag tied round it was found to serve very well) should be substituted for the levelling staff. The angle of elevation or depression from the top of the table to the mark must then be read and the distance between these two measured. It will be seen that both these measurements are equivalent to those from the fixed point under the table to the object. The corrected (horizontal) distance and the difference in level may then be calculated as shown in fig. 6.

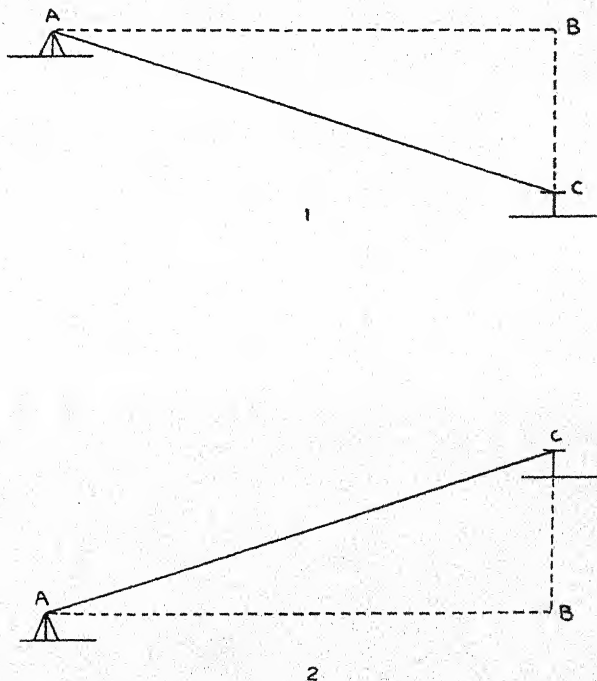


Fig. 6. 1, Depression, 2 Elevation.

A. Clinometer standing on plane table.

C. Mark on staff.

Measure AC and BAC.

$\text{Cos. BAC} \times \text{AC} = \text{AB}$ (corrected distance).

$\text{Tan. BAC} \times \text{AB} = \text{BC}$ (difference in level).

The F.M.S. pattern clinometer is graduated not in angles but in natural tangents, so the angle BAC must be obtained from the table of tangents before its cosine can be ascertained. Tan. BAC is, of course, the original reading.

Four figure tables are sufficiently accurate.

1940] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

- I. Well finished Hoabinhian implements from Gua Madu rock-shelter.
1. Excav. No. 359 (section I). Green chert.
 2. Surface find. Green chert.
 3. Excav. No. 272 (section II). Light green banded chert.
 4. Surface find. Green chert.
 5. Excav. No. 424 (section I). Light green chert.
 6. Excav. No. 169 (section II). Light coloured igneous rock.
- II. Hoabinhian implements from the lowest layers in Gua Madu rock-shelter; all are plotted on Section II.
1. Excav. No. 341. Dark, crystalline igneous rock.
 2. Excav. No. 342. Dark green, fine-grained rock.
 3. Excav. No. 352. Black metamorphosed shale.
 4. Excav. No. 363. Quartzite.
 5. Excav. No. 367. Quartzite.
 6. Excav. No. 374. Brown slaty schist.
- III. Implements from Gua Madu rock-shelter.
1. Worked flake. Excav. No. 103 (section II). Dark grey shale.
 2. Small worked flake. Excav. No. 29 (section II). Grey shale.
 3. Large elongate implement of black shale, surface find.
 4. Large flat implement of grey shale, surface find.
 5. Half of very large implement of red quartzite. Excav. No. 548 (section I).
- IV. Implements from Gua Madu rock-shelter.
1. Well made protoneolith. Excav. No. 242 (section II). Dark green microcrystalline rock.
 2. Protoneolith. Excav. No. 280 (shallow deposit, not included in sections). Greenish shale.
 3. Fragment of hammer-dressed round axe. Excav. No. 300, (section II). Volcanic tuff.
 4. Fragment of hammer-dressed protoneolith or round axe. Excav. No. 411 (section III). Fine-grained green igneous rock.
- V. Implements from Gua Madu rock-shelter.
1. Hammer-dressed round axe, surface find. Dark green microcrystalline rock.

2. Pounding stone or fabricator with hammer-dressed "grip-mark". Excav. No. 93 (section II). Dark grey metamorphic rock.
3. Bark-cloth pounder. Excav. No. 265 (section II). Fine red sandstone.
4. Bone implement, surface find.
5. Neolithic chisel, surface find.

VI. Neolithic implements.

1. Small cave above Gua Madu rock-shelter.
- 2-4. Surface finds in large cave at Gua Musang.
- 5-9. Specimens excavated in deposit in small cave at Gua Musang.

VII. Neolithic implements and pottery.

- 1, 2. Stone borers from the small cave at Gua Musang.
3. Atypical implement from small cave at Gua Musang.
4. Limestone pestle from small cave at Gua Musang.
- 5, 6. Inside and outside of an incised potsherd from small cave above Gua Madu rock-shelter.
7. Incised potsherd from same site.

VIII.

1. Incised and cord-marked potsherd from small cave above Gua Madu rock-shelter.
- 2-4. Fragments of incised and cord-marked vessels from Gua Musang.

IX.

- 1-6. Fragments of cord-marked (1-4) and incised (5, 6) vessels from Gua Musang.

X.

Vessels reconstructed from fragments found at Gua Musang.

XI.

- 1, 2. Parts of vessels from Gua Musang.
- 3, 4. Objects of burnt earth from Gua Musang.

XII.

Partly reconstructed earthenware potter's wheels from Gua Musang (see text fig. 4).

1. Two portions presumed to be of the same wheel of dark-coloured ware, partly cord-marked.
- 2-5. Pieces of wheels of unornamented red ware.

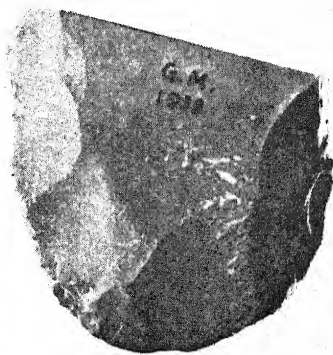
XIII.

An earthenware potter's wheel from Atjeh, Sumatra. Batavia Museum, photo by Dr. A. N. J. Th. à Th. van der Hoop.

- XIV-XVI. Sections in the excavation in Gua Madu rock-shelter, see fig. 3.



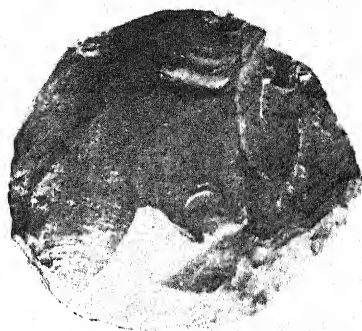
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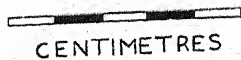
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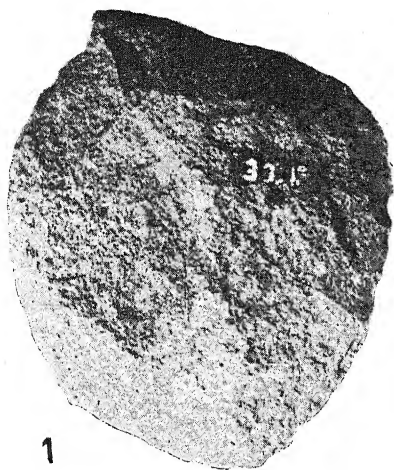
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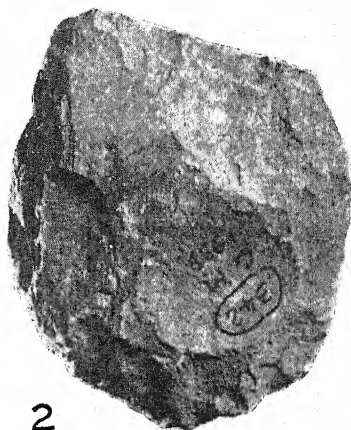
CENTIMETRES

Stone implements from Gua Madu, Kelantan.

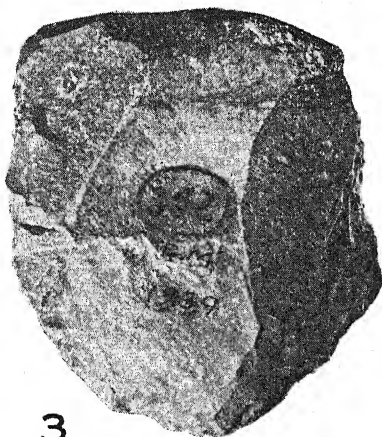




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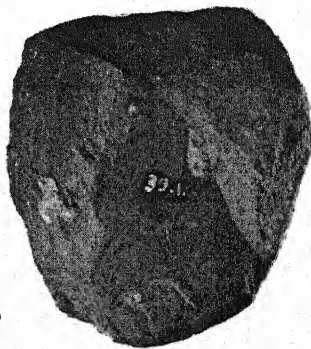
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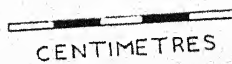
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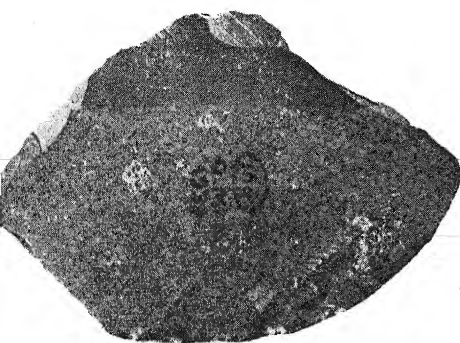
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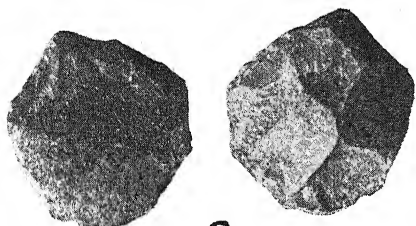
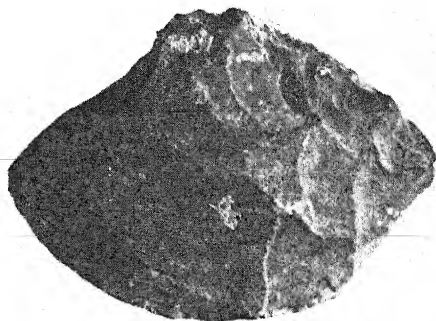
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Stone implements from Gua Madu, Kelantan.



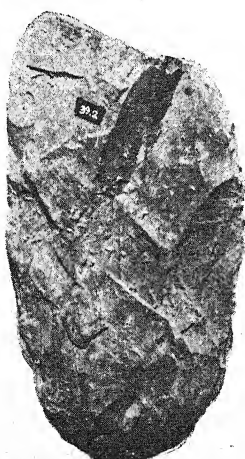
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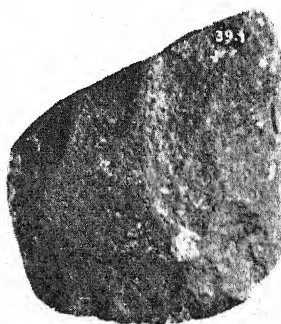
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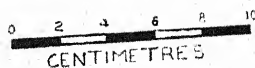
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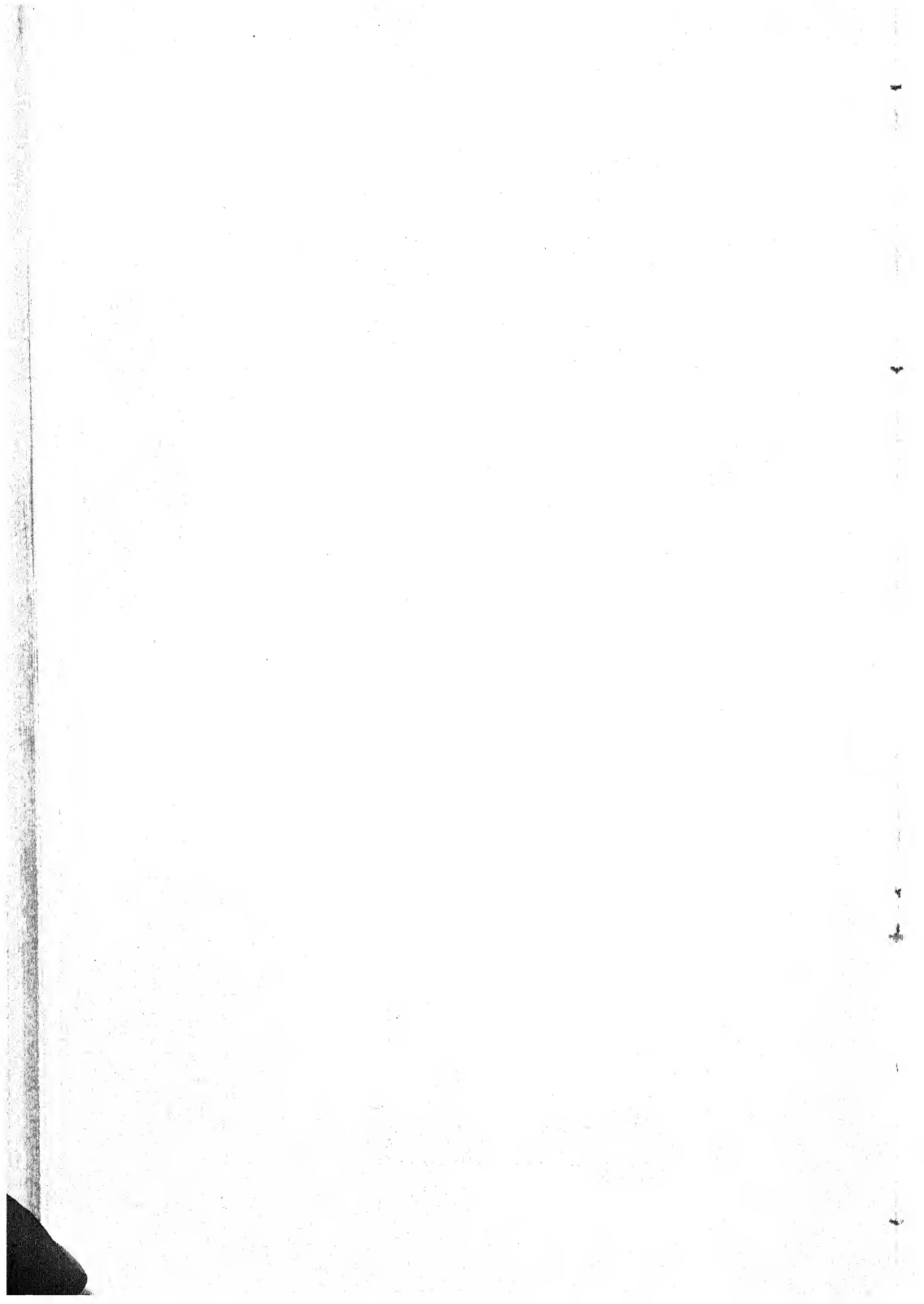
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Stone implements from Gua Madu, Kelantan.

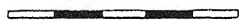




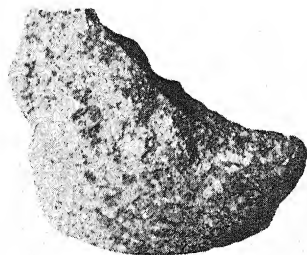
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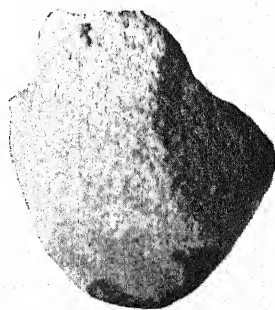
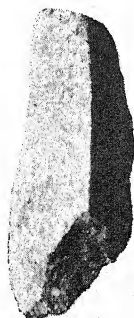
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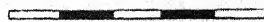
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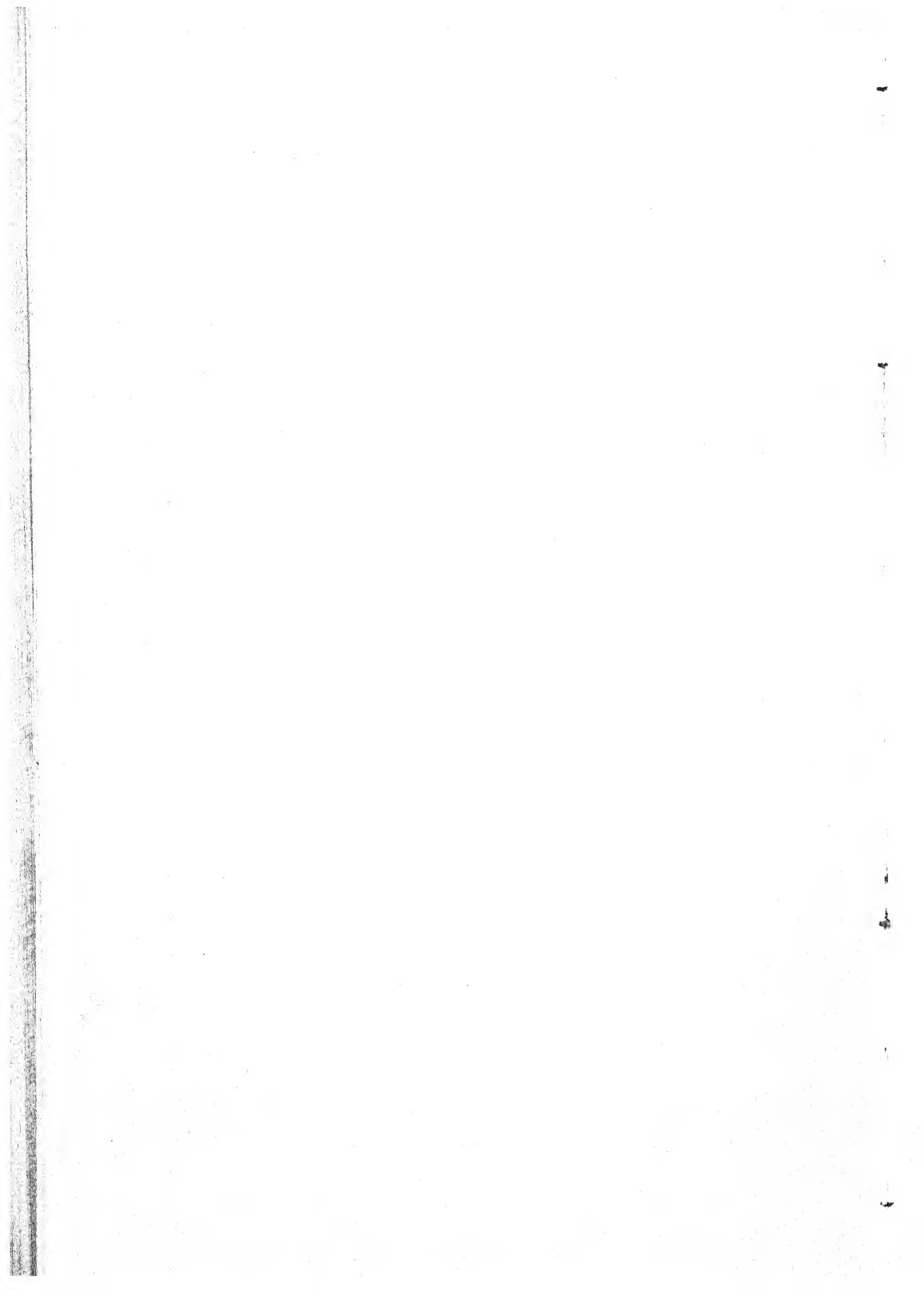
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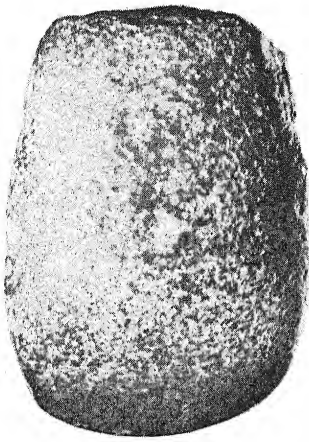


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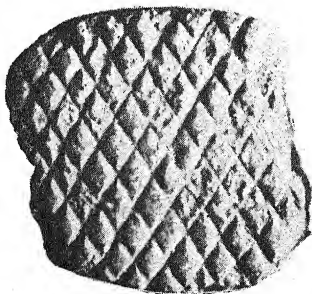
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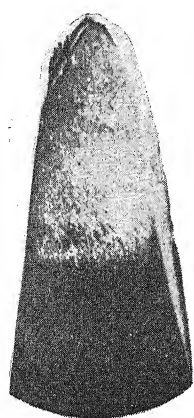


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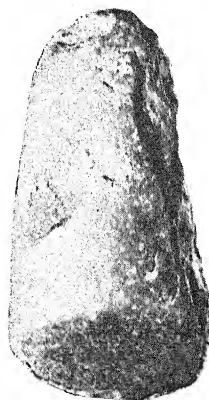


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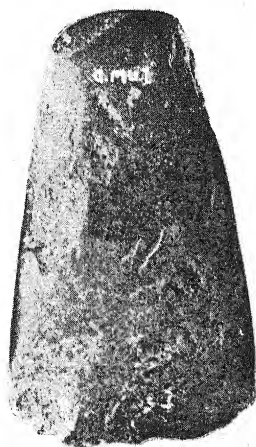
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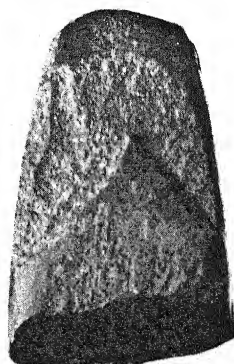
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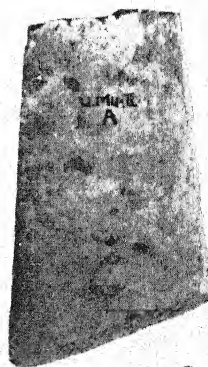
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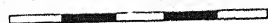
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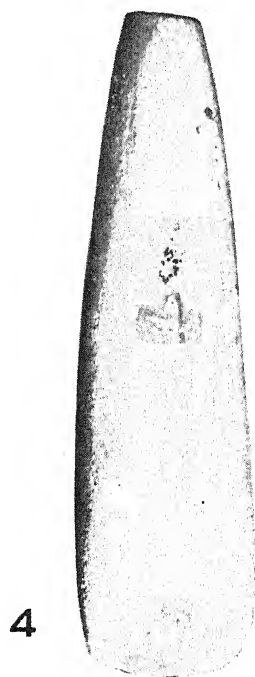
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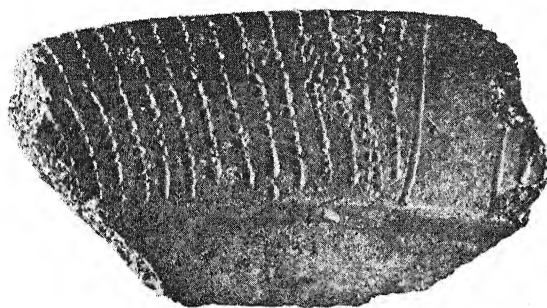
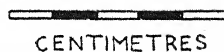
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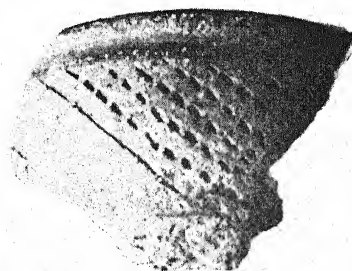
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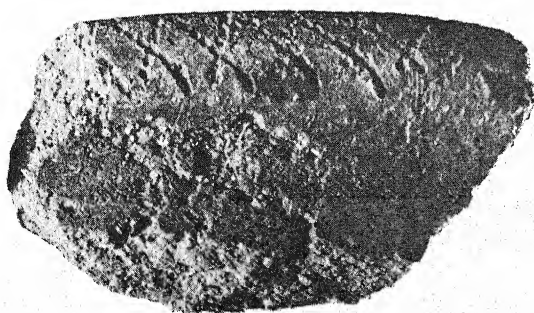
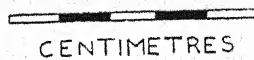
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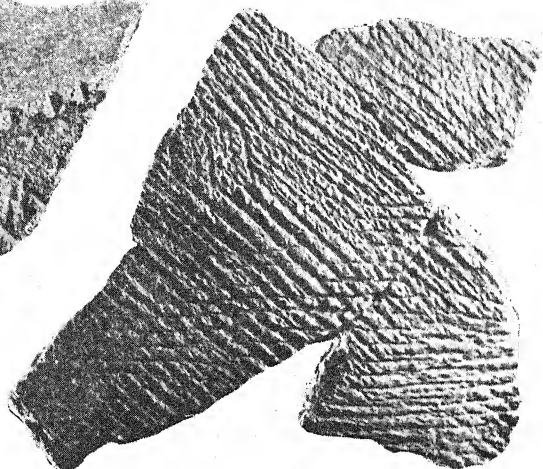
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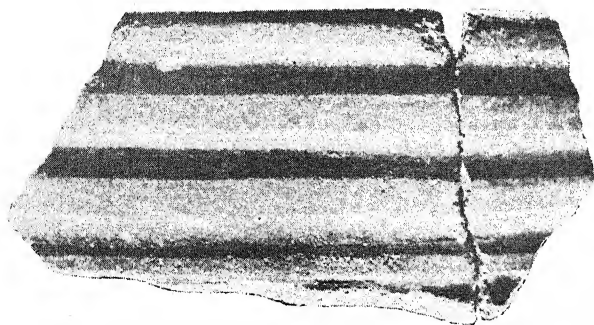
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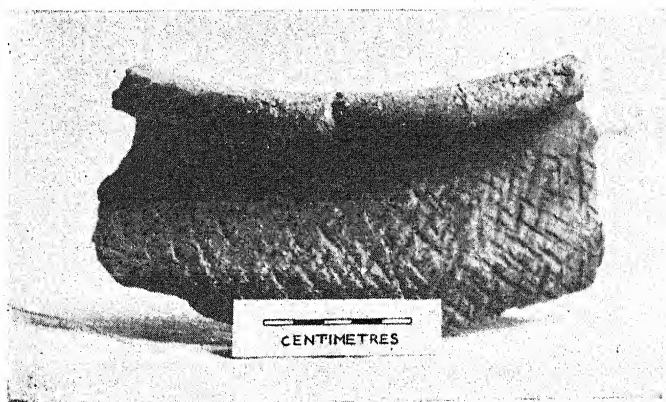
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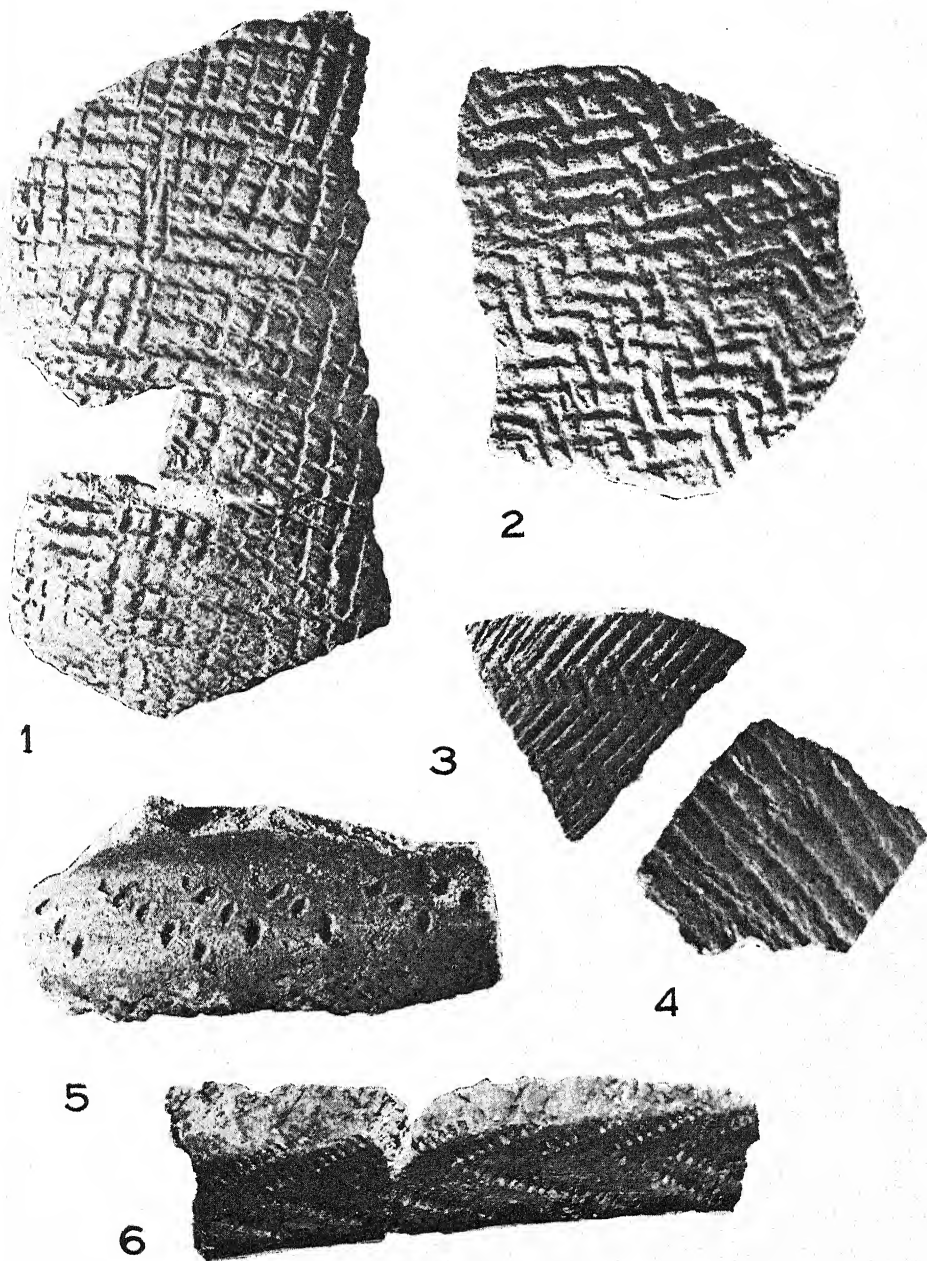
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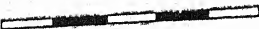


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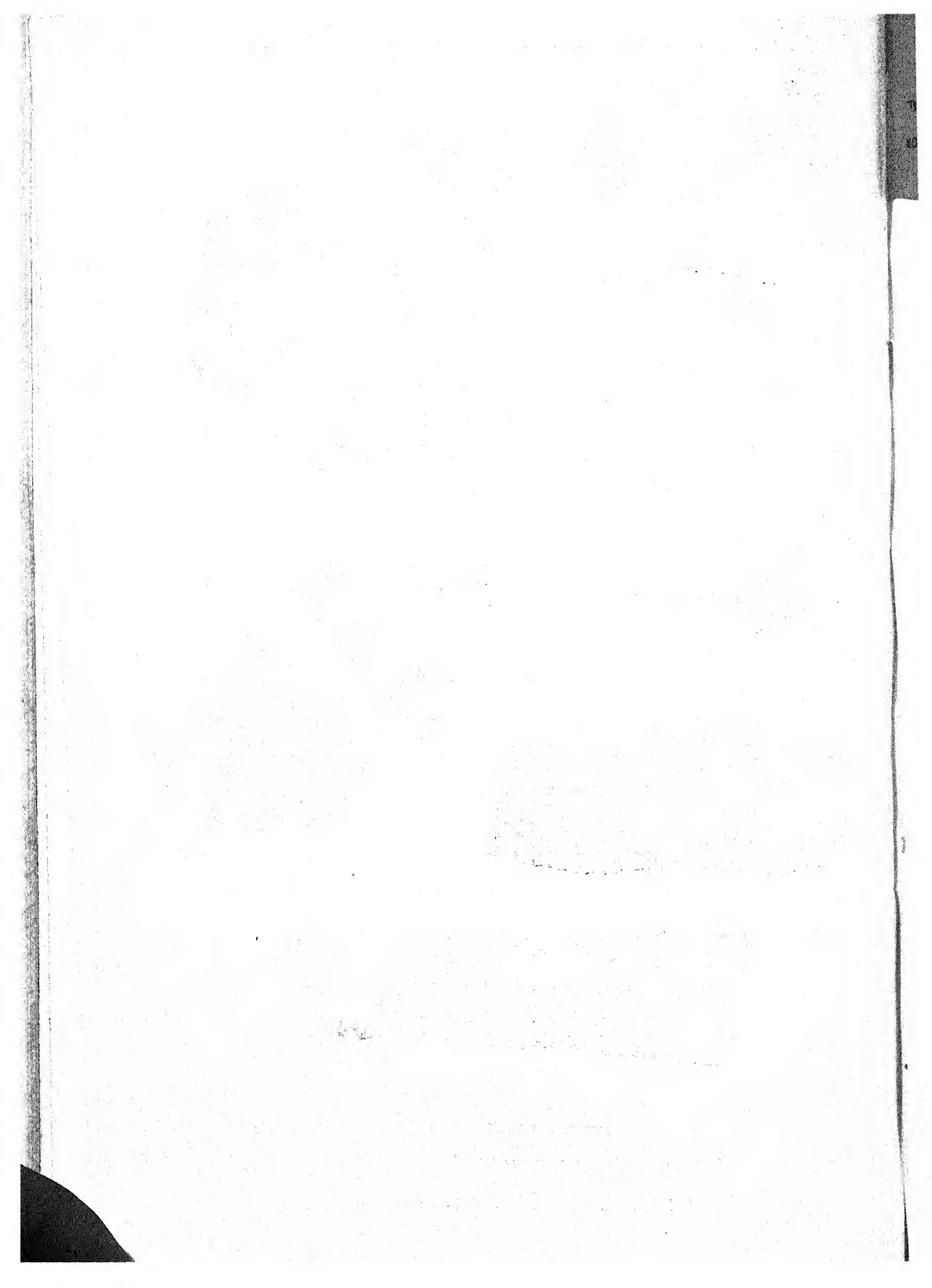


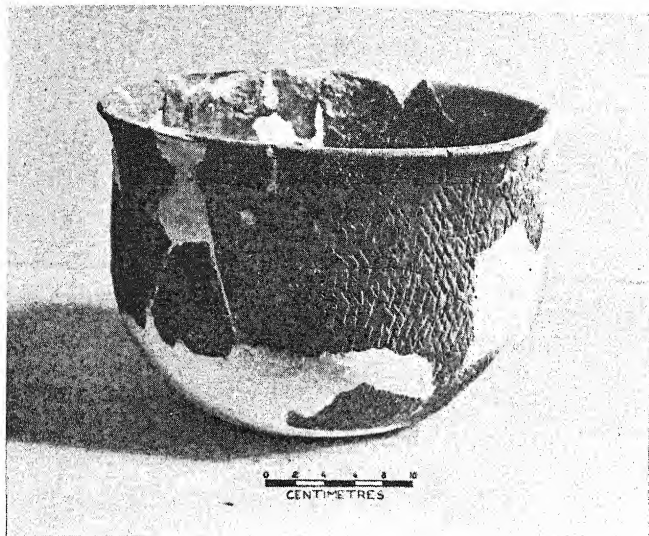
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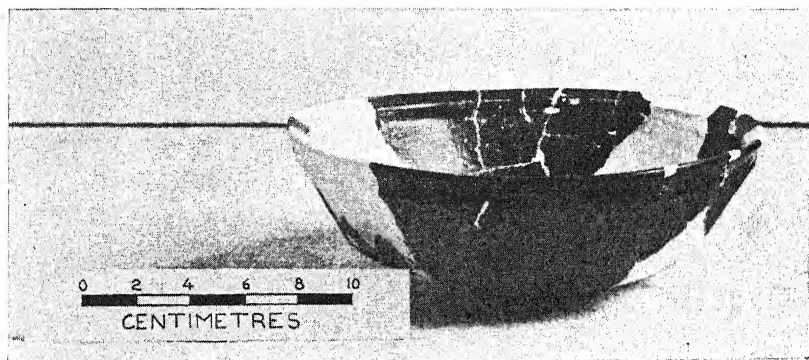

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Potsherds from Gua Musang, Kelantan.

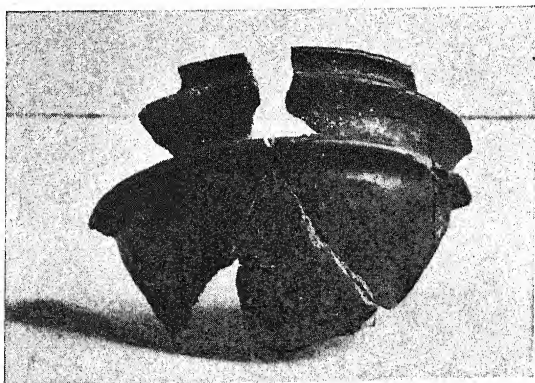




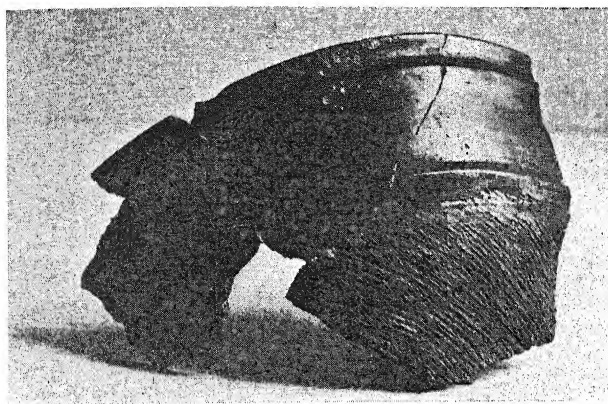
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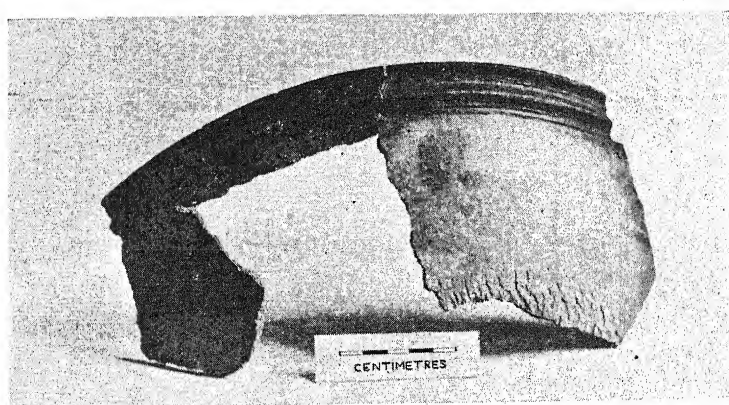
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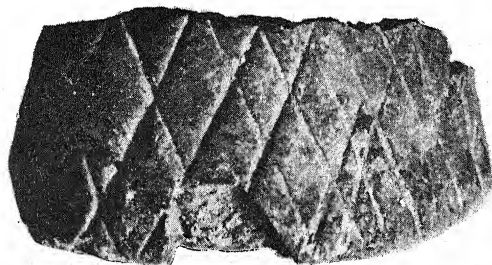
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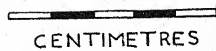
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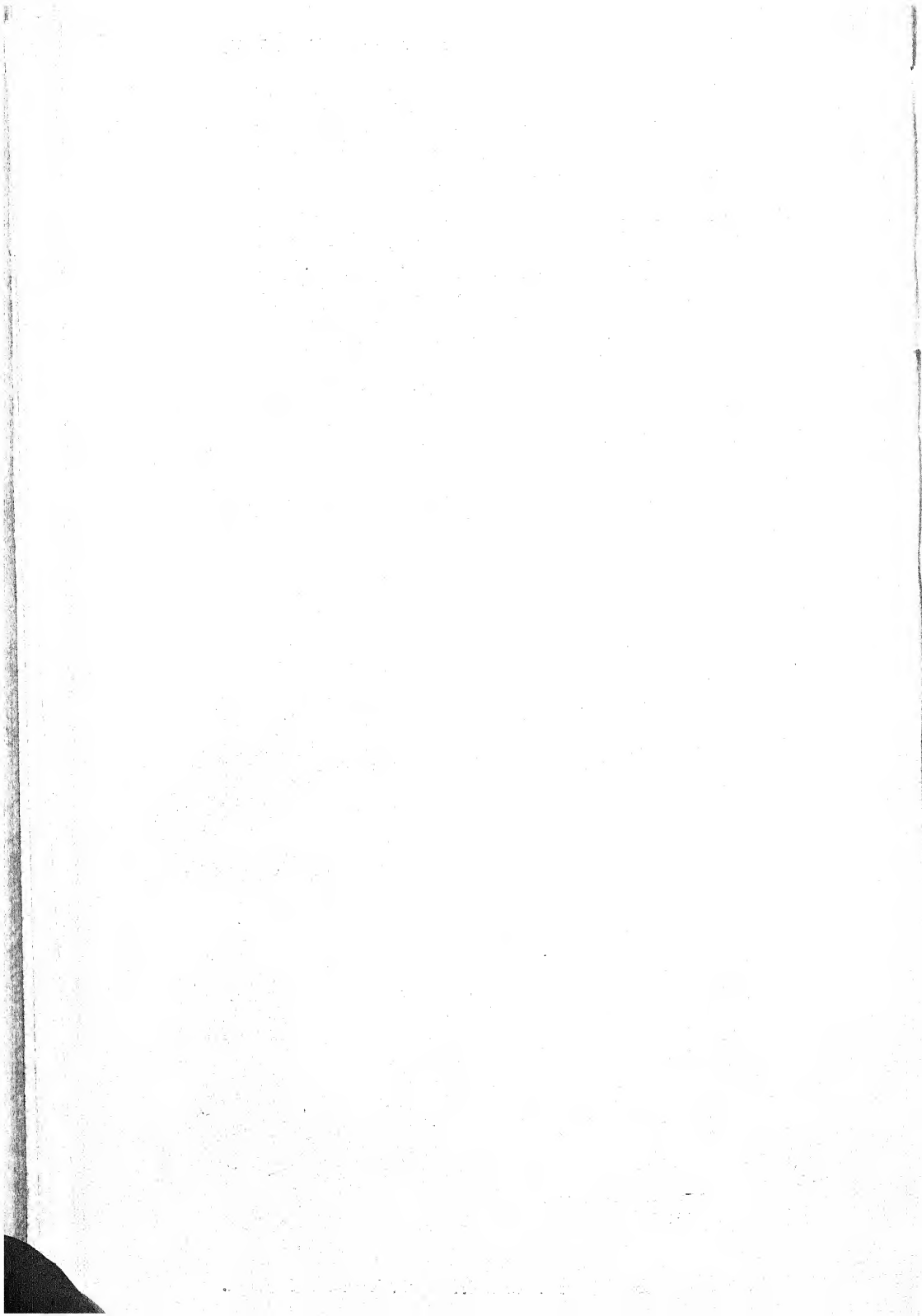


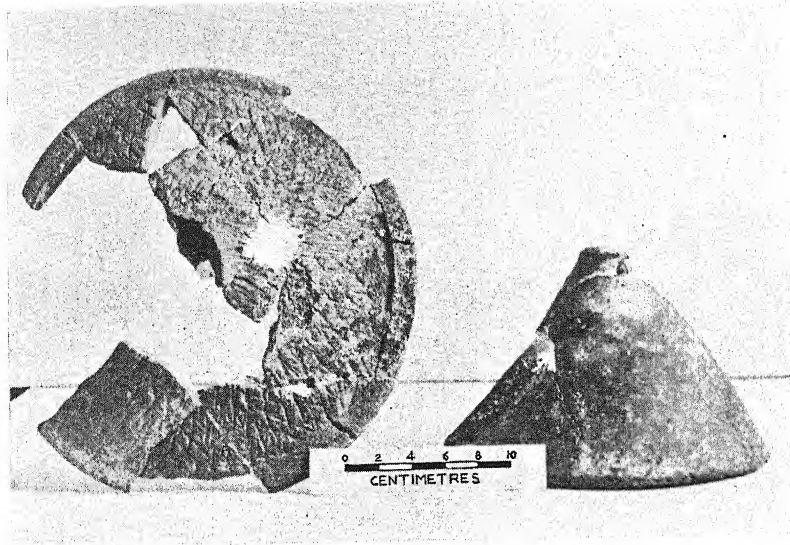
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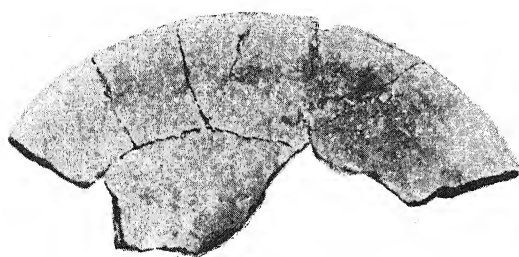
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Pottery and objects of burnt earth from Gua Musang, Kelantan.

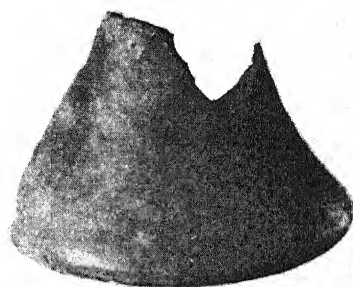




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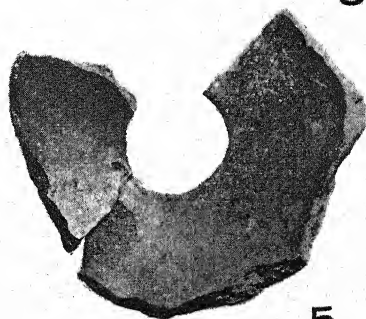
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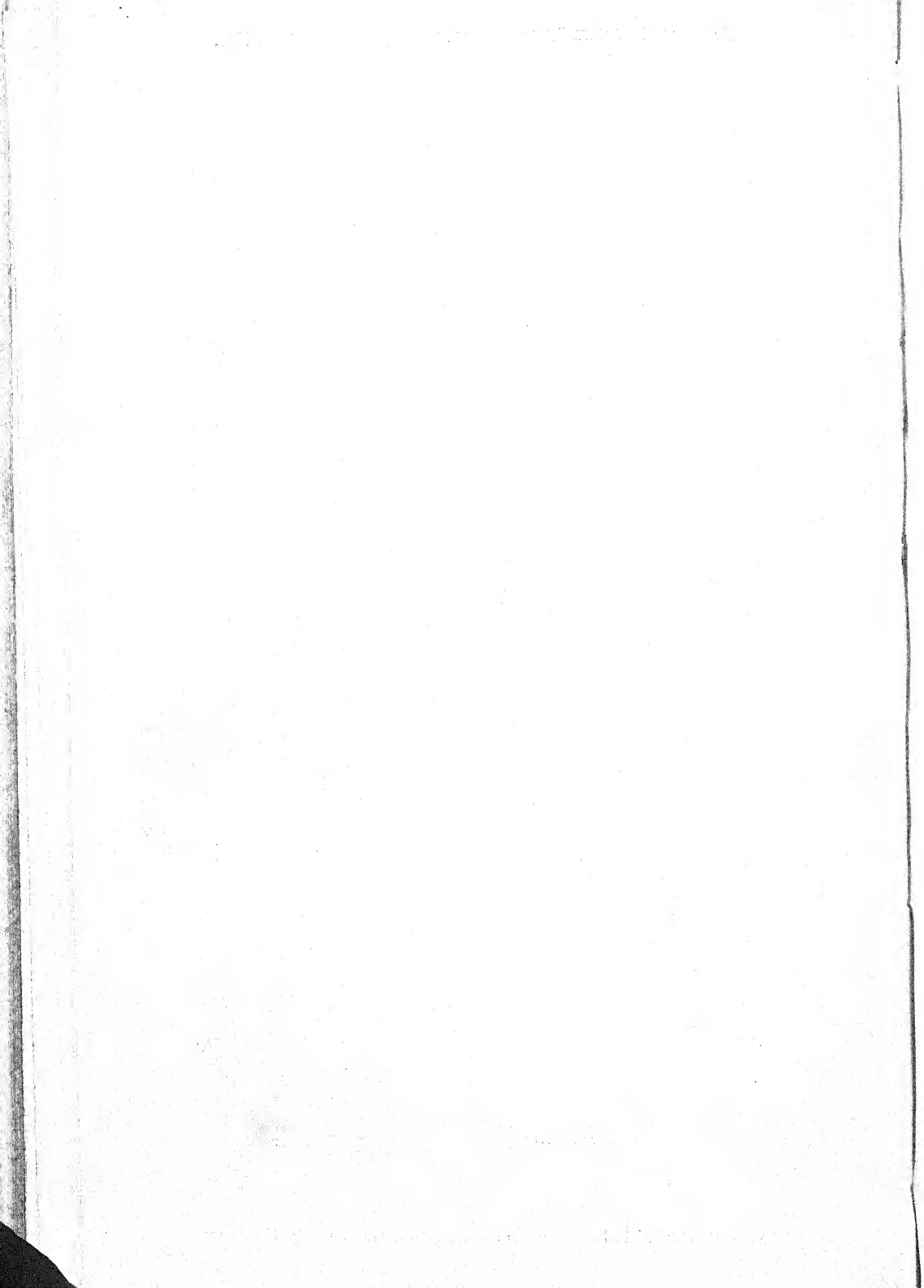
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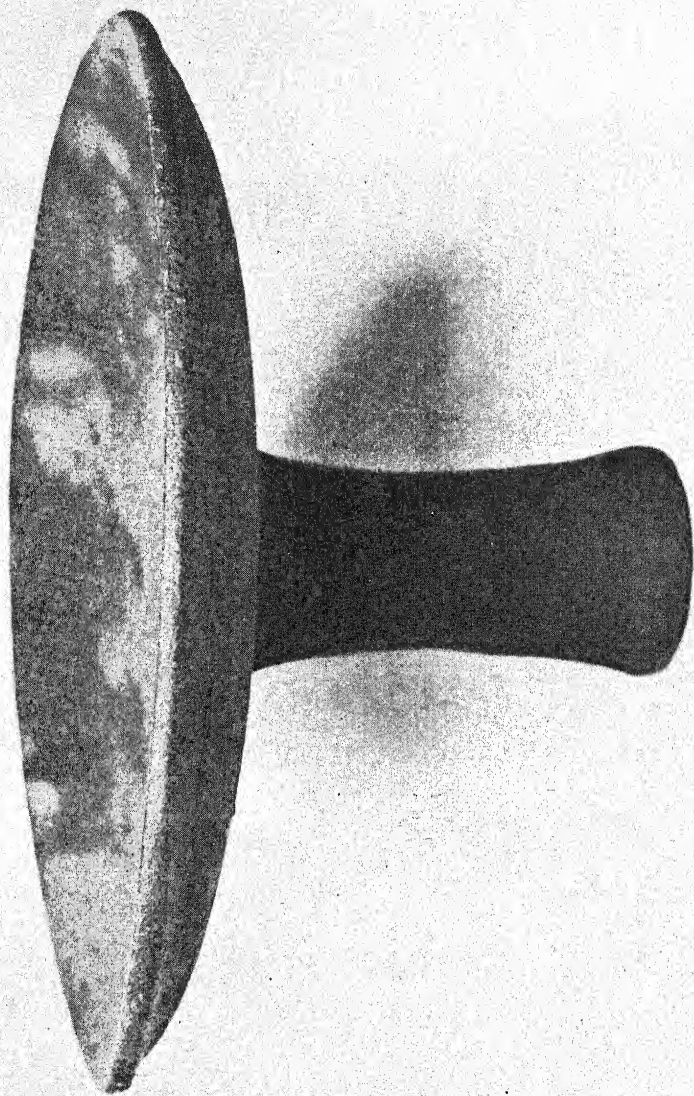


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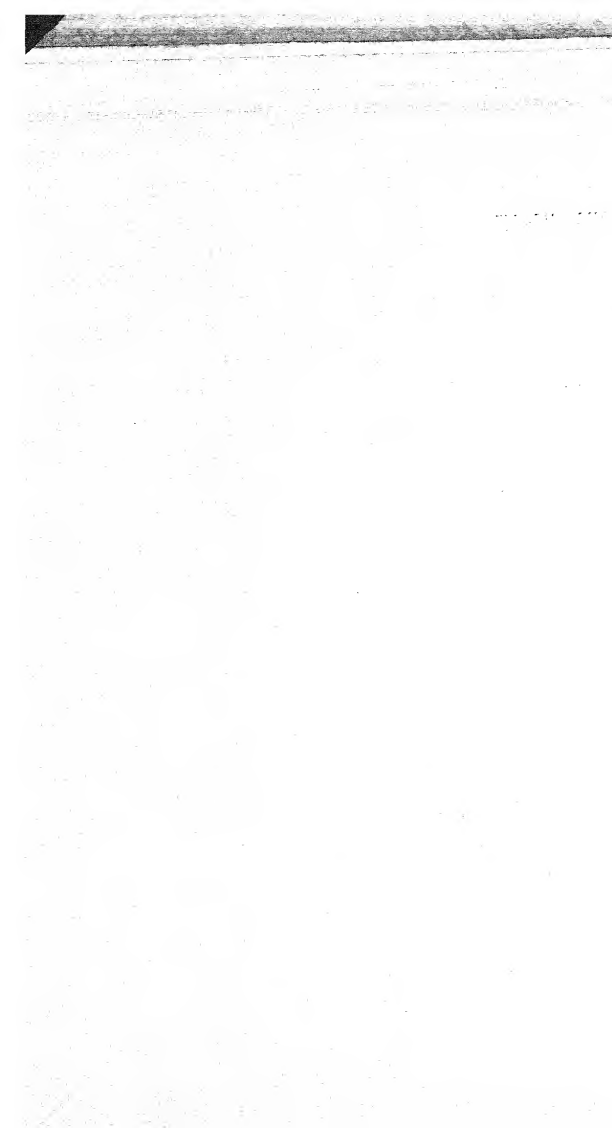
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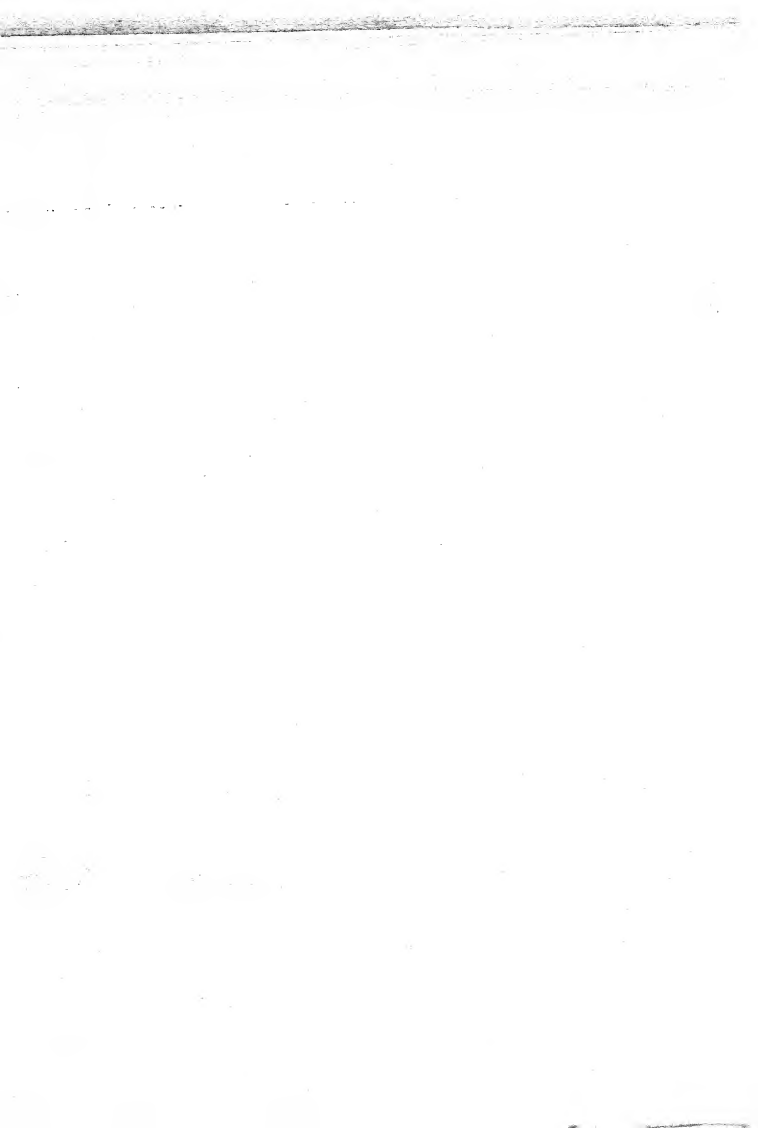
Objects presumed to be potters' turn-tables from Gua Musang, Kelantan.





Recent earthenware potter's turn-table from Atjeh, Sumatra.



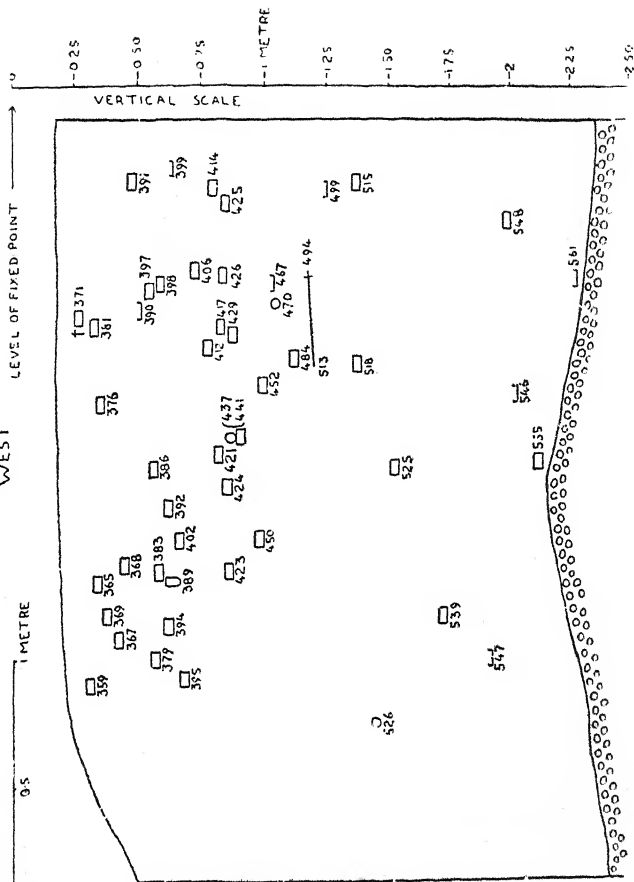


SECTION I

SCALE
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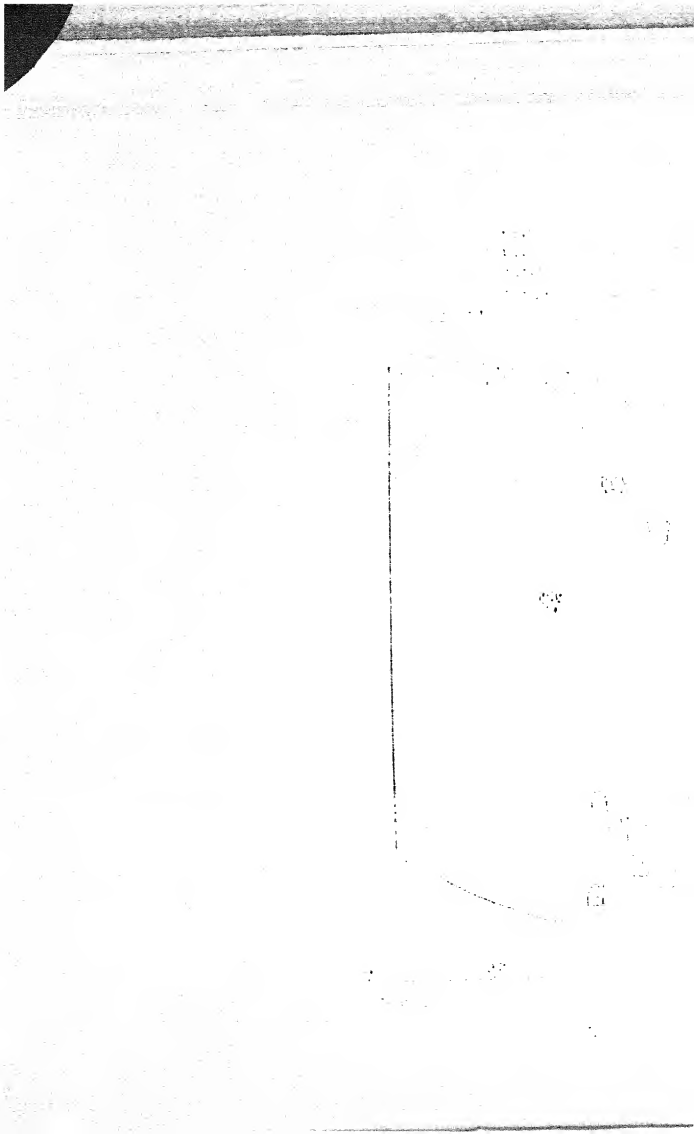
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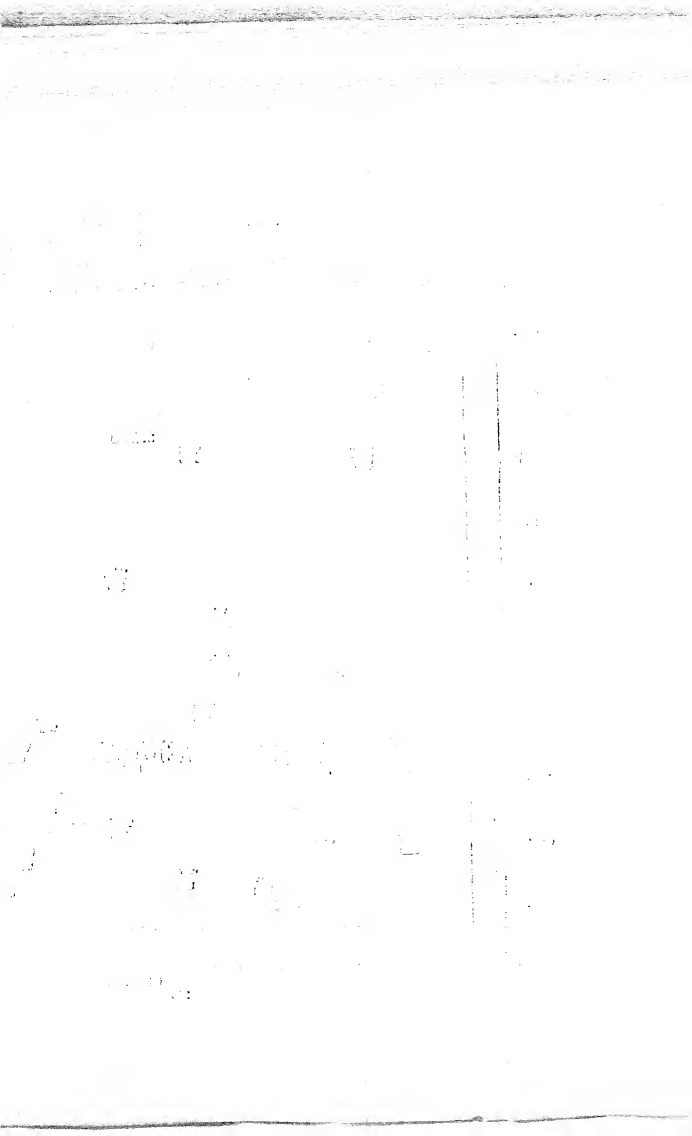
LEVEL OF FIXED POINT



LEGEND

- STONE IMPLEMENT
- STONE FLAKE
- POUNDING OR GRINDING STONE
- MEGACRITE
- † DISPERSAL BURIAL
- +— EXTENDED BURIAL
- CONGLOMERATE





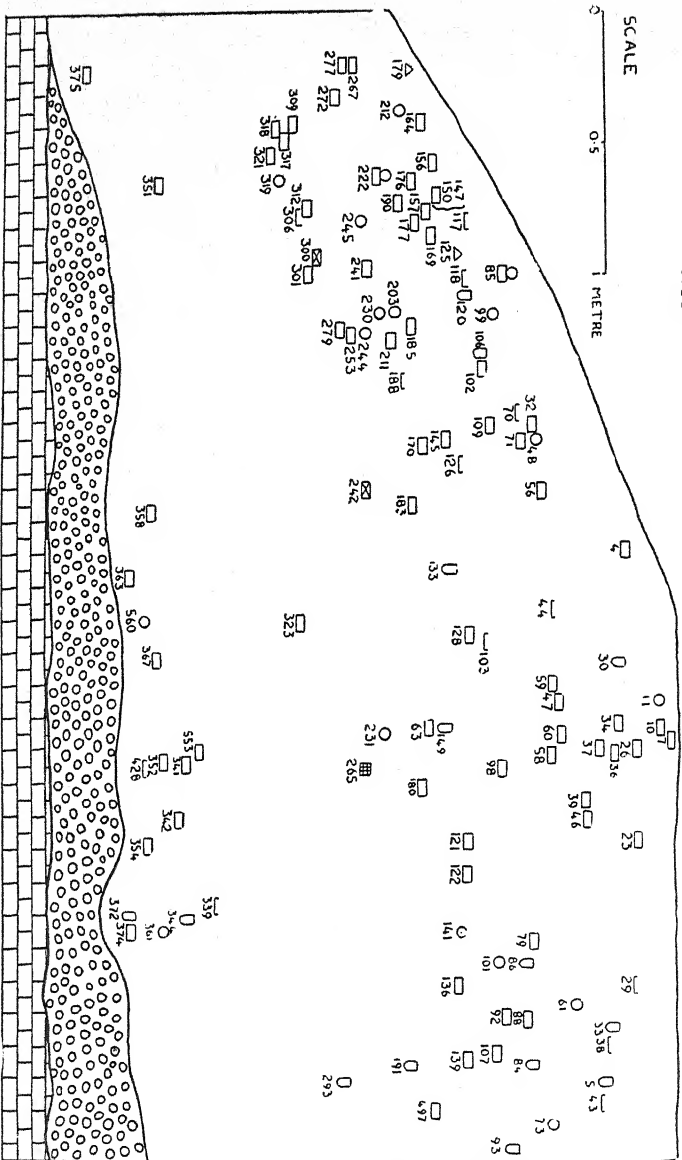
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SECTION II

LEVEL OF FIXED POINT →

SCALE

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LEGEND

- STONE IMPLEMENT
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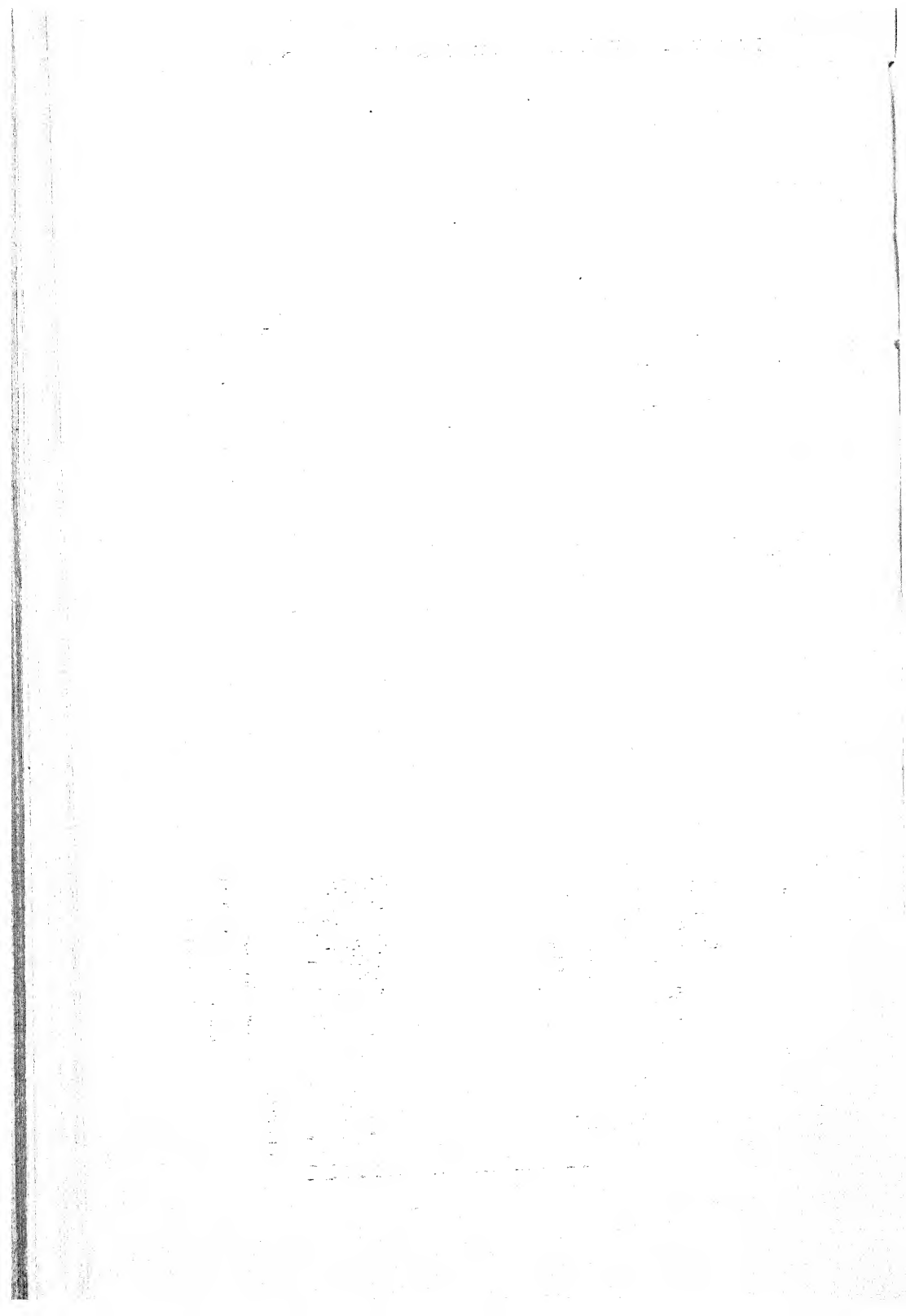
- POUNDING OR GRINDING STONE
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- ◼ CHALMATTITE

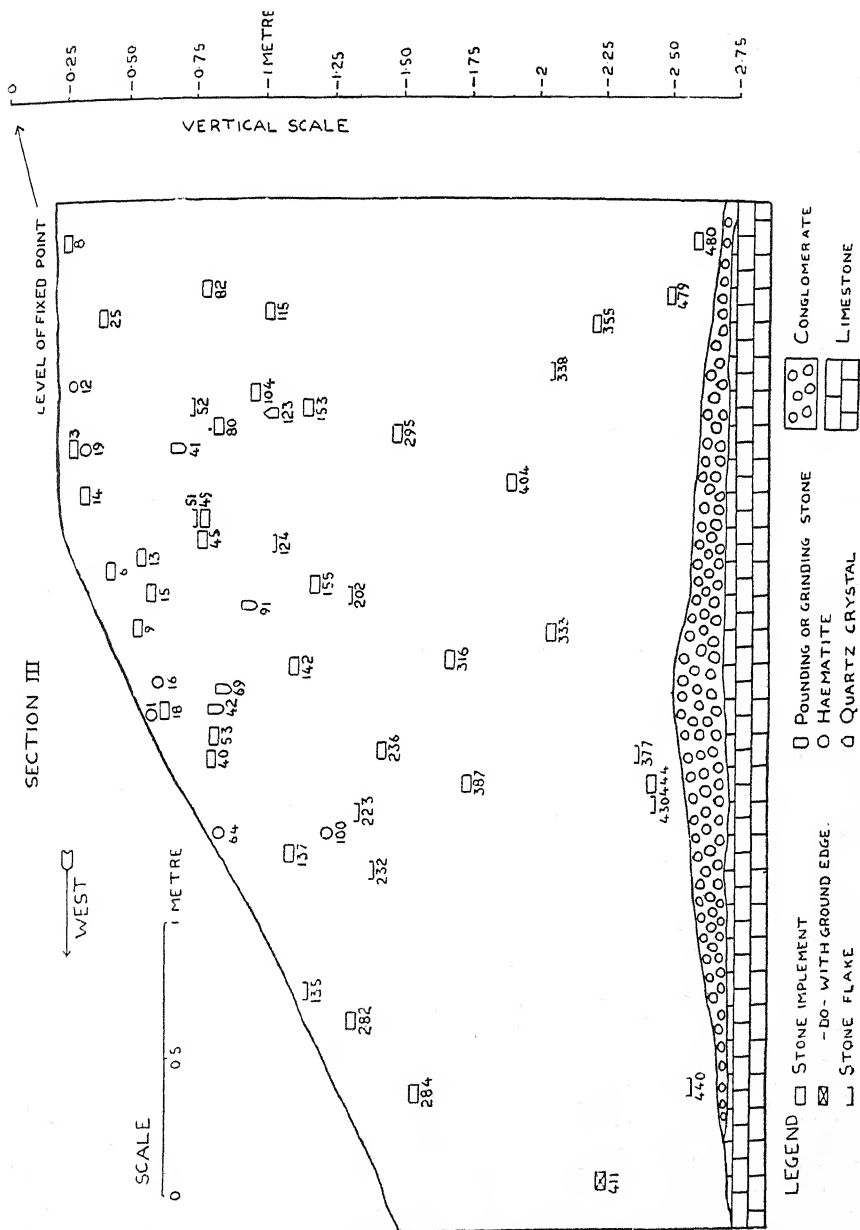


CONGLOMERATE

LIMESTONE

VERTICAL SCALE







A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF BRUNEI

By H. R. HUGHES-HALLETT, M.C.S.

This incomplete sketch is drawn from oblique references in the bibliographies of Sarawak and British North Borneo, from certain official records and from certain local records and inquiries. We have been unable to trace any writer who has concerned himself exclusively with Brunei history: the bibliography of Sarawak and British North Borneo is not extensive but Brunei itself appears to have been neglected.

Brunei has also been neglected by philologists: seven languages are spoken in Brunei and although researches have been made elsewhere in neighbouring States into the language of the Dyak, Dusun and Punan, there is no comprehensive vocabulary of Brunei Malay; whilst Kedayan, Belait and Tutong have received no attention whatever. Ancient tombs, too, have been allowed to fall into such disrepair that their engraven secrets are withheld from posterity. From the several languages alone, could no doubt be obtained sufficient data to throw light, at least, on the nature of the pre-Mohammedan inhabitants of Brunei and the origin of the Kedayans. It is possible that the Bisaya of the Limbang, who have their own language, could tell us much that we should like to know. It would be interesting to have the comments of a geologist upon the tradition that the so called Brunei river was formerly a lake which burst through to the sea at Kainggaran. Above all, it is necessary to collect information, now, from the older generation, before it is too late, because the new generation knows not the Tersilah and has not heard of Nakoda Ragam: these subjects are not included in the vernacular school curriculum and outside school hours who will listen to a tale of olden time when there is football to be played or the celluloid exploits of Tarzan to be followed.

It is hoped that this rough sketch will provoke and suggest more productive inquiry.

* * * *

The native name for the island of Borneo has always been Pulau Kelamantan, but a Mercator's chart of 1595 gives to the town of Brunei, as well as to the whole island, the name of 'Borneo'. Early writers spell the name of the island variously, Bruni, Brunai, Brune, Borneo, Borney, Bornei, Borne and Burni; from these variations upon the theme of one word, two words eventually crystallised—'Brunei' and 'Borneo'. As recently as 100 years ago, Brunei territory was always referred to as 'Borneo Proper'. The fact is that at the time of the earliest cartographers and writers, the kingdom of Brunei was at its zenith; the terms 'Brunei' and 'Borneo' were synonymous and the whole island was subject to the dominion of Brunei. How long this state of affairs had obtained it is not known but because it

did exist this sketch does not confine itself to the narrow limits of the territory now comprising the State of Brunei.

Brunei has no discovered pre-history and no established early history; local tradition does not go back further than the first Mohammedan Sultan, contemporaneous with the introduction of the Arabic script.

The discovery at the mouth of the Sarawak river, of Chinese coins dating back to 600 B.C., indicates a very early contact with China. That this, or a later contact, was a close one, is testified by the prevalence of the curious jars, of Chinese origin, which have immemorially been treasured as heirlooms by the Dyaks of Borneo. Early European arrivals in Sarawak found Chinese exploiting extensive gold and diamonds workings which bore the appearance of having been worked through many centuries.

Some European historians identify Brunei with a State named Poli or Puni, mentioned several times in Chinese annals, but recent researches tend to indicate that these references were to a by-gone State on the north-west coast of Sumatra. If Brunei it was, the references to tribute brought by envoys to the Chinese Court cover a period from the sixth to the fifteenth century and reveal at Brunei a royal court of great ceremony with gorgeous trappings of state, sumptuous robes, pearls, attendants with fans of peacock feathers, chariots canopied with feathers and drawn by elephants and other extravagant details. The rival claims of Brunei and Sumatra to this former pomp and circumstance have not been decided by the pundits.

Borneo was known to the Arabs of old and Sinbad the Sailor was fabled to have visited there: the Arabs credited the country with fabulous riches.

Kublai Khan, the Mongol Conqueror, is known to have sent an expedition from China to the eastern archipelago in 1292 and it is more than probable that this was the origin of the Chinese colony in northern Borneo which is commemorated in the nomenclature of the Kinabatangan river and the mountain Kinabalu and which according to tradition provided Brunei with an early ruler.

From Marco Polo, in 1291, we learn of a considerable junk carried trade between Brunei and China.

In Sarawak, and in Dutch Borneo, there have been found certain customs, carvings and gold ornaments of Hindu character; and in Brunei, the traditional coronation ceremony, the royal procedure and the nomenclature of officers of state, all commemorate Hindu influence. Hindu influence emanated from the empire of Majapahit in Java and according to Javanese records a Javanese force expelled Sulu marauders from Brunei in 1368 and Brunei is mentioned as one of the countries conquered during the reign of Angka Wijaya who was the last king to reign over Majapahit before it was vanquished by Mohammedan Malacca. In Brunei, the landing of a Javanese force

is associated with the name of Tanjong Jawa and the Brunei annals confirm that prior to the first Mohammedan Sultan, Brunei paid annual tribute to Majapahit in the form of a jar of areca-nut juice.

And that is all we can glean until we come to the local traditions, which name only one date and that near the middle, and begin with the first Mohammedan Sultan, Alak ber Tata,* whose reign, from what we have seen, must have been some time during the fifteenth century..

Brunei traditions are perpetuated in the annals known as the 'Selasilah' or 'Tersilah', the original conception of which are credited to the fourteenth Sultan. There are several extant copies but they are chiefly concerned with the history of the royal line, of which the present ruler is the 26th or 27th Sultan. Although essentially of common purport the historical value of the several versions is diminished by many minor points of difference which are probably attributable to embellishments and suppressions by the various factions who have been responsible for the several compositions.

In one version the very first words assert that the traditional boundries of the kingdom extend to the south as far as Kuala Sambas and to the north beyond Sandakan as far down the east coast as Pulo Sibatik, and include all the islands except those in the Sulu group. The tale continues that Alak ber Tata and Pateh Berbi of Brunei were summoned to Johore in the reign of 'Sultan Bahkei' of that country (more probably Malacca), where Alak ber Tata was converted to Islam: another tradition is that he captured a Johore princess whilst cruising in the neighbourhood of that country and embraced her religion at the urgent entreaty of Johore when he took the princess for wife. Another, a romantic tale, recorded in explanation of the name of one of the Brunei kampongs, comprises another version of the traditional link with Johore. It runs that Alak ber Tata, (like the Bornean King of Hokum Pokum in the ditty "Seven Veils") called his cavaliers and bade them find him a princess. Patih Berbai and Awang Si Ma'aum accordingly went to Johore and there arrived in time to take part in a short pleasure cruise in which the Johore court were indulging: because the Brunei craft was swift it was favoured by a young Johore princess who was accommodated on board. To an accompaniment of gongs and drums the little fleet sailed gaily off until a storm was encountered, whereat the Johore vessels turned about, but the Brunei craft stood on and stole away their royal passenger and bore her to Brunei where she became the most cherished wife of Alak ber Tata. It continues, that the discomfited Johore Sultan despatched two nobles, Bendahara Amar di-Raja and Seri Nara di-Raja Bendahara Johari, who took with them a favourite pet of the abducted princess, a burong agai which she called her burong pinggai: needless to say it was in a

*or Aluk or Ahlok Batatar.

silver cage. This party were wrecked on the Brunei coast and all the crew lost with the exception of the two Rajas who were saved by clinging to the mast. They were washed ashore where to their surprise they encountered the burong pinggai which flew before them, ("It leads us on", said the Bendahara to Seri Nara di-Raja,) and following the bird they found their way eventually to Berakas. Here Seri Nara di-Raja took a wife and settled down, but Bendahara Amar with the burong pinggai continued on to Brunei town where he took up residence at the place which has ever since borne the name of Kampong Burong Pinggai. Some years later a plot was hatched with the friends whom he gathered around him at Kampong Burong Pinggai and the women folk of this kampong, in a body, went to the Sultan's palace and spirited the Johore princess away, (for generations after which no Burong Pinggai woman was ever allowed beyond the threshold of the royal palace). The two Johore rajas thereupon returned to Johore and restored the princess to her father. Thereafter, runs the tale, the Sultan of Johore invited Alak ber Tata to Johore where he reclaimed the hand of the twice abducted princess. A connection with Johore seems certainly to have been established and to this day the Brunei Pangirans claim Johore descent. It is further related that it was from the hand of the Sultan of Johore that Alak ber Tata received the royal title of Sultan Mohammed; certain regalia, the *ginta alamat* (the bells); the *nobat nakara* (the drums); and dominion over the five districts of Kalaka, Saribas, Sadong, Semarahan and Sarawak: and alternatively that these districts were won as the fruits of his warlike exploits. However it came about, Alak ber Tata assumed the title of Sultan Mohammed. We can only speculate upon his origin; it is related that his royal dignity was marked by an immense loin cloth carried by eighty men, forty in front and forty behind: there are ethnological traces of Bisaya customs in the traditional coronation ceremony and it may be that Alak ber Tata was a Bisaya, of the tribe now inhabiting the Limbang.

We are not now surprised to read twin versions of the immediate succession. One, that Sultan Mohammed had a daughter who married a Chinese, Ong Sum Ping, who became Sultan Ahmed: (circumstantially, of Ong Sum Ping it is related that he had by a trick won the jewel of Mount Kinabalu from its guardian dragon by substituting a candle in a glass case for the glowing gem and so deceiving its keeper.) The other, testified by the inscription on an ancient gravestone in Brunei, known as the Makam Damit, asserts that Sultan Ahmad was a brother of Sultan Mohammed and that he married the daughter of Ong Sum Ping who was a chief in the Kinabatangan. However, all versions are unanimous that a daughter of this union married an Arab from Taif, Sheriff Ali, who became Sultan Berkat. (In corroboration thus far, respective traces of Bisaya, Chinese and Arab customs are all to be found in the traditional coronation ceremony).

Sultan Berkat ruled vigorously, built mosques and converted the town to Mohammedanism; it is related of him that he it was who caused forty junks laden with stone to be sunk at the mouth of the Brunei river to form a defensive barrier, but this strategy is also attributed to a later Sultan. His son became Sultan Suleiman and he in turn was succeeded by his son Sultan Bolkiah whose fame is widespread in Malay legend under the pseudonym of Nakoda Ragam or Anak Kuda Ragam, but to the perennial dismay of his compatriots, the legends as related outside Brunei never identify their hero as a Brunei Sultan.

Sultan Bolkiah was a renowned sea rover who voyaged to Java and Malacca and made conquests in Borneo the Phillipines and Sulu and even seized Manilla. The names of many islands scattered throughout the archipelago are alleged to commemorate the circumstances of his voyages. One legend is that he set out on a cruise with a gantang of pepper seeds and was not content to return until he had given to each seed the name of one of the myriad islands encountered. His wife was a Javanese princess whose followers intermarried with the people of Brunei, and such, according to one tradition, is the origin of the Kedayans whom custom associates with the main body guard of the Sultan and who disseminated in Brunei a system of rice cultivation greatly superior to local standards. It is related that in his declining years he carried with him on his exploits a band of artisans whose duty it was to prepare royal tombs in remote parts of the archipelago, it being his wish, should he die at sea, to be buried at the nearest site; the finest of these is said to contain his remains at Brunei, this tomb of exquisite workmanship in hard basaltic stone was damaged by Spanish round shot in the seventeenth century and is now in a sorry state of dilapidation and the engravings upon it remain a secret to posterity.

This was the golden age of Brunei, a kingdom embracing the whole of what is now Sarawak and British North Borneo. Brunei sovereignty in all probability extended over the remainder of Borneo, as represented by what subsequently became the vassal Sultanates of Sambas, Kotaringin, Pontianak, Coti, Pasir, Barau, Tuli Tuli, Banjar and Bolongan; over the Sulu archipelago and over the islands of Balabac, Banggi, Balambangan, Mantanani, and the south west end of Palawan.

It was probably during the lifetime of Sultan Bolkiah that Pigafetta, the Italian historian of Magellan's voyage around the world, visited Brunei and wrote the first eyewitness account. The earliest accredited European accounts of Borneo were written by Ludovico Barthema, an Italian, who visited 'Brunai' between 1503 and 1507, and one Barbosa, a Spaniard, who described Borneo in 1516; but in 1521 we have Pigafetta's first hand account, which first appeared in French.

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".....When we reached the city, we remained about two hours in the prau, until the arrival of two elephants with silk trappings, and twelve men each of whom carried a porcelain jar covered with silk in which to carry our presents. Thereupon, we mounted the elephants while those twelve men preceded us afoot with the presents in the jars. In this way we went to the house of the governor, where we were given a supper of many kinds of food. During the night we slept on cotton mattresses, whose lining was of taffeta, and the sheets of Cambaia. Next day we stayed in the house until noon. Then we went to the King's palace upon elephants, with our presents in front as on the preceding day. All the streets from the governor's to the King's house were full of men with swords, spears, and shields, for such were the king's orders. We entered the courtyard of the palace mounted on the elephants. We went up a ladder accompanied by the governor and other chiefs, and entered a large hall full of many nobles, where we sat down upon a carpet with the presents in the jars near us. At the end of that hall there is another hall higher but somewhat smaller. It was all adorned with silk hangings, and two windows, through which light entered the hall and hung with two brocade curtains, opened from it. There were three hundred foot-soldiers with naked rapiers at their thighs in that hall to guard the king. At the end of the small hall was a large window from which a brocade curtain was drawn aside so that we could see within it the king seated at a table with one of his young sons chewing betel. No one but women were behind him. Then a chief told us that we could not speak to the king, and that if we wished anything, we were to tell it to him, so that he could communicate it to one of higher rank. The latter would communicate it to a brother of the governor who was stationed in the smaller hall, and this man would communicate it by means of a speaking-tube through a hole in the wall to one who was inside with the king. The chief taught us the manner of making three obeisances to the king with our hands clasped above the head, raising first one foot and then the other and then kissing the hands towards him, and we did so, that being the method of the royal obeisance. We told the king that we came from the king of Spagnia, and that the latter desired to make peace with him and asked only for permission to trade. The king had us told that since the king of Spagnia desired to be his friend, he was very willing to be his, and said that we could take water and wood, and trade at our pleasure. Then we gave him the presents, on receiving each of which he nodded slightly. To each one of us was given some brocaded and gold cloth and silk, which were placed upon our left shoulders, where they were left but a moment. They presented us with refreshments of cloves and cinnamon, after which the curtains were drawn to and the windows closed. The men in the palace were all attired in cloth of gold and silk which covered their privies, and carried daggers with gold hafts adorned with pearls and precious gems, and they had many rings on their hands.

We returned upon elephants to the governor's house, seven men carrying the king's presents to us and always preceding us. When we reached the house, they gave each one of us his present, placing them upon our left shoulders. We gave each of those men a couple of knives for his trouble. Nine men came to the governor's house with a like number of large wooden trays from the king. Each tray contained ten or twelve porcelain dishes full of veal, capons, chickens, peacocks, and other animals, and fish. We supped on the ground upon a palm mat from thirty or thirty-two different kinds of meat besides the fish and other things. At each mouthful of food we drank a small cupful of their distilled wine from a porcelain cup the size of an egg. We ate rice and other sweet food with gold spoons like ours. In our sleeping quarters there during those two nights, two torches of white wax were kept constantly alight in two rather tall silver candlesticks, and two large lamps full of oil with four wicks apiece and two men to snuff them continually. We went elephant-back to the seashore, where we found two praus which took us back to the ships. That city is entirely built in salt water, except the houses of the king and certain chiefs. It contains twenty-five thousand fires (*i.e.*, families). The houses are all constructed of wood and built up from the ground on tall pillars. When the tide is high the women go in boats through the settlement (*tera*) selling the articles necessary to maintain life. There is a large brick wall in front of the king's house with towers like a fort, in which were mounted fifty-six bronze (*metalo*) pieces, and six of iron. During the two days of our stay there, many pieces were discharged. That king is a Moro and his name is Raja Siripada.† He was forty years old and corpulent. No one serves him except women who are the daughters of chiefs. He never goes outside of his palace, unless when he goes hunting, and no one is allowed to talk with him except through the speaking tube. He has scribes, called *Xirifoles** who write down his deeds on very thin tree bark."

Pigafetta found at Brunei a population which he estimated at 25,000 fires or families, (computing to about 125,000 persons this was probably an over estimate but if it was correct the population was the highest of any contemporary Malay city); Brunei itself rejoiced in the honorific title of *Dar-el-Salam*, the Abode of Peace. He was greatly impressed by the imposing splendour and ceremonial of the Court and recorded an advanced culture: he describes a city built over the water, as it may be seen today, except that the palace and the residences of certain chiefs were on the land, in all probability on the site now known as *Kota Batu*. Pigafetta also records the constant discharge of cannon and this substantiates the traditional salutes of fixed numbers of guns which the annals record were fired from morn till eve at each circumstance of the royal day; waking, sleeping, bathing, eating. It

†Raja Seripaduka.

*Jurutulis.

is evident that Brunei town in the time of Pigafetta was a place of great consequence. By the nineteenth century, all that remained of the culture of that flourishing city was the art of the silversmiths and the weavers of cloth of gold but it is easy to understand how the early writers gave to the whole island the name of the city and State now called Brunei.

The Portugese visited Brunei in 1526 and confirmed the glowing account of Pigafetta. In 1527, the Portugese in the Moluccas, seeking to extend their trade to Brunei, sent an envoy with a gift to the Sultan, consisting of a piece of rich tapestry on which was represented the marriage of Henry VIII of England with Katherine of Arragon. His Bornean Majesty was alarmed to learn that Henry was a crowned Prince, like himself, fancied that the Portugese were employing black magic, and fearing that the figures might spring into life from the tapestry and wrest away his kingdom, he turned the Portugese and the tapestry out of Brunei. In 1530, however, there was an established trade with Portugese Malacca and there was a trading factory and a Catholic mission in Brunei.

Sultan Bolkihah was succeeded by his son Sultan Abdul Kahar who is asserted to have had 42 sons: it is also stated that during his reign a Spanish attack was repulsed, which gives us a date, for in all probability it was an attack from Manilla in 1577. This Sultan is remembered as Marhom Keramat because he is fabled to have appeared after death, on horseback, leading the Brunei forces against a subsequent Spanish attack. There was another attack, in 1580, and if it was after the death of Sultan Abdul Kahar, it must have been during the reign of his son Sultan Saif-ul Rejal. The annals say that the expedition from Manilla was at the instigation of two Brunei Pegirans, Seri Lela and Seri Ratna, who revolted at the licentious dominion of the Sultan's brother and chief minister, Raja Sakam, who exercised the privilege of taking as wives and concubines all the most beautiful of the daughters of the nobles; it is even recorded that he snatched a bride from her sitting-in-state. When the attack came, the Sultan and court fled to Sungei Budu, west of Baram, (this Sultan is remembered as Merhom di-Budu); and left Raja Sakam to defend Brunei, in which he was successful, and having restored the Sultan, pursued the treacherous Pengirans to Belait and there slew them.

It is during the reign of Sultan Saif-ul-Rejal that the annals first mention officers of state called 'Chetria'; these officers are specifically mentioned in a version of the traditional constitution set down by a Sultan in the nineteenth century; it may therefore be supposed that at this period the ancient constitution was being resolved.

The next ruler, Sultan Shah Brunei, was the son of his predecessor; during his reign there were first cast the large brass cannon for which Brunei was to become noted and specimens of which were captured by an English squadron many years later, melted down, recast, and used in the Crimea.

Sultan Shah Brunei abdicated in favour of his brother who became Sultan Hassan. He had a palace at Tanjong Chindana and a fort on Pulo Chermin; he was buried at the former place and is remembered as Merhom di Tanjong. He ruled strongly and kept the Bajaus and Sulus in subjection; over Sulu, it is asserted, his son became Raja, and later, Sultan: generally, he consolidated the provinces of the kingdom and completed the conquest of such as were previously not thoroughly subdued. He modelled the court etiquette upon that of the Sultan of Achin and created the offices of Pengiran di-Gadong and Pengiran Pemancha, making with the two former Wazir, a total of four.

In the annals, this is the earliest mention of Wazir and in conjunction with the previous allusion to Chetria it is reasonable to attribute to this period the traditional constitution, as brought to the notice of the Consul General for Borneo in 1881. The constitutional establishment provided for four ministers of state, or Wazir: the Pengiran Bendahara, Pengiran di-Gadong, Pengiran Pemancha and Pengiran Temenggong: there were eight Chetria, or subordinate ministers; Pengirans Shahbandar, Paduka Tuan, Maharaja Dinda, Suma Nagara, Kerma Indra, Si Raja Muda, Setia Nagara, and Derma Putra (an authority in Brunei has a longer list, containing 38 titles): and there was a representative council of 16 Mentri, or officers of state, chosen from among the leading people, the chiefs of the different districts or kampongs of Brunei town. It was recognised that the traditional succession was not essentially hereditary, but arbitrary, from amongst the four Wazir, and a Brunei Sultan was not despotic in theory or practice but had to consult on all important occasions with his chief officers, likewise all important documents had to bear at least two of their seals. Thus it was set down in 1881, together with the ancient theory of sovereign and feudal rights over land and people. The latter indicated a well settled mode of existence and in its application to land is still recognised. Over land and people three degrees of rights were observed; known as "kerajaan", "kuripan", and "tulin". Kerajaan was Crown property and belonged to the State, the Ruler could collect revenue but the property could not be bequeathed but must pass to the succeeding Sultan: kuripan belonged to ministers of state during their lifetime; the holder collected revenue but could not bequeath the land which on his death reverted to the Crown until a successor was appointed: tulin embodied fiscal rights, but over such lands the sovereign rights were vested in the Sultan. There is no evidence that these distinctions were observed in the time of Sultan Hassan but he is the first ruler whose record merits the assumption. For the same reason, this is the earliest period to which may be attributed the application of the traditional code of laws known as the 'Kanun', a composition of some 50,000 words which until the introduction of the residential system in 1906 constituted the entire Penal and Civil Codes of the State. (This significant relic of former times we found

preserved precariously by the Chief Kathi in manuscript Jawi. It is hoped to edit and publish it in a later issue of the Journal.)

Sultan Hassan was succeeded by his son, Sultan Abdul Jalil-il-Akbar, the 10th Sultan, who is remembered as Merhom Tua, but the ruler to be recognised as the 11th Sultan is uncertain because although the brother of the previous Sultan is referred to as Sultan Abdul Jalil-ul-Jebar, and remembered as Merhom Tengah, it is also claimed that he never ruled in Brunei town, and tradition is only concerned with his exploits elsewhere. It is related that taking 1,000 of the Sakai Laut and orang Pebelat (the name of a Brunei kampong of fishermen) he went to Sarawak, whence he made frequent visits to Johore; on one such visit, Raja Tengah, (as he is also called), was entertained at dancing by the 'Yang di Pertuan', one of whose officers 'Maharajah Adinda', besought Raja Tengah to take part, but the Raja from the wide open spaces of Borneo excused himself on the grounds that the people of Brunei did not know how to dance; whereupon the Maharajah Adinda pushed him playfully towards the dancers and the bashful Raja Tengah lost his temper, struck him, and marched off to his boat. A little comedy very easy to visualise. It is further related that one of Sultan or Raja Tengah's sons became ruler over Samatan and another founded the line of Sultans in Sambas; thereafter his successors had to come to Brunei before they could be installed as Sultans in Sambas. Sultan Tengah is supposed to be buried at Samatan or Kuala Kalakas in Sarawak.

After Sultan Abdul Jalil-il-Akbar the next ruler in Brunei was, Sultan Mahomet Ali, although whether he should be considered the 11th or 12th Sultan there is not general agreement. There is little recorded of him except the nature and date of his death but that date is the one established date in Brunei history: his death was brought about by his son, a Wazir whose manners were so insolent that the people, headed by Bendahara Abdul Mobin, demanded his execution; the father consented but his son sought asylum in the palace which was attacked by the Bendahara and all the male occupants murdered; the Sultan was garotted in the garden and so is remembered as Merhom di-Rumput. The date of this affair is given as A. H. 1072, i.e. A. D. 1662.

The murdering Bendahara seized the crown regalia, fortified himself at Pulo Chermin and proclaimed himself Sultan Abdul Mobin. At Brunei, a few miles up river, a son of Sultan Abdul Jalil-il-Akbar and nephew of Sultan Mahomet Ali was recognised as the rightful claimant and assumed the title of Sultan Muaddin or Mohideen, remembered as Merhom Bongsu. These two Sultans warred between themselves protractedly in the undecisive manner of Malay warfare until the issue was decided by a force from the Sultan of Sulu, whose aid had been recruited by Sultan Mohideen. The usurper, Sultan Abdul Mobin, was overcome, but not before he had

loaded all the State regalia into cannon and fired it out to sea: he was put to death on the island, from which he is remembered as Merhom di-Pulo, and Sultan Mohideen enjoyed undisputed sway. Sultan Mohideen is credited with the origin of the records of the royal line which ultimately became the Tersilah.

The Sultan of Sulu, for his assistance in the civil war was granted dominion over territory in the north, a large part of what is now Dutch Borneo and British North Borneo; the extent is not clear from the annals but it was probably from Pulo Sibattik on the east coast to the west side of Marudu Bay or even as far down as Kimanis. The annals and traditions are conflicting and untruthful about this period, as much from a patriotic reluctance to admit the part played by the Sultan of Sulu, and the reward granted (or seized?), as from the fact that the civil war split the Bruneis into two factions; the Pulo Rajas who acknowledged Sultan Abdul Momin, and the loyalists who did not; thus in some versions of the annals there is no mention at all of Sultan Abdul Momin, and on the gravestone, reference to which has already been made, his name is not included.

The annals, like all histories, dwell more upon the good than the bad; so that when they record that the internecine strife caused a complete stoppage of trade and that control over the outlying districts became relaxed, we can read between the lines. Kalaka, Saribas and the Milanau districts probably fell away from Brunei temporarily because we later learn of Sultan Mohideen bringing them back to subjection. The grant of territory in the north to the Sultan of Sulu tacitly recognised his independence in Sulu and over the islands of Balambangan, Balabac and Palawan. In fact we have the first picture of the disintegration of the kingdom, to which, no doubt, the advent of Europeans had contributed by presenting to the subject tribes and districts the object lesson that Brunei was not the only or most powerful kingdom in the world.

In 1598, Oliver Van Noort, the Dutch navigator, had visited Borneo and in 1600 anchored in Brunei; he came to the conclusion that the city was a nest of rogues. The Dutch began a trade in pepper in the next century but confined their operations to the south and south west. In 1609, the English had made their first connection with Borneo by opening a trade in diamonds with Sukadana on the west coast. Throughout the 17th century, Spanish contacts had been maintained from Manilla but the connection was severed in 1645 when a Spanish punitive force effectually retaliated for alleged piratical acts. These early European intrusions in the name of trade were no doubt of a decidedly buccaneering character and cannot but have had a demoralising effect.

By the beginning of the 17th century, Brunei had probably ceased to have any sovereignty over the east of Borneo: by the beginning of the 18th century, the kingdom had been territorially diminished

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by the cession to the Sultan of Sulu in the north, and the activities of the Dutch in the south west had no doubt conceived the independence of Sambas.

Sultan Mohideen was succeeded by Sultan Ali-uddin (Merhom di-Brunei), Sultan Kamaluddin (Merhom di-Lobah) and Sultan Nasrudin (Merhom di-Changi); but the order in which these three rulers succeeded is given variously. They were followed by Sultan Omar Ali Saif-uddin (Merhom di-Makam Besar), the date of whose death, as stated on his tomb, is A. H. 1209, corresponding to A. D. 1795. We are told very little about these Sultans who bring the story up to the 19th century.

During the 18th century, the island of Labuan became the sanctuary of a settlement of the East India Company which in 1775 had been driven by Sulu pirates from Balambangan: a factory was established at Brunei itself—until recent years a certain spring of water was still known as "Perigi Factor". The E. I. C. acquired from the Sultan the exclusive right to trade in pepper, in return for an undertaking to protect him against Sulu and Mindanau pirates. The evil system of monopoly was as disruptive in Brunei as it had proved under the unenlightened policies of the Portuguese in the spice islands, the Spanish in the Philippines and the Dutch in south and south west Borneo. The direct trade of Borneo with China suffered a mortal blow and the once considerable commerce, noted by Marco Polo, decreased continuously to about seven junks annually in 1775, although even at the end of the century there were noted at Brunei old docks capable of berthing vessels of 600 tons. The valuable pepper trade—the gardens of Chinese pepper planters extended to the foot of Mulu—became moribund. The extinction of legitimate trade had the same result throughout the archipelago; utter demoralisation ensued.

By the end of the 18th century, the Sultans of Brunei were exercising only a nominal control over the more remote districts, through the medium of Malay nobles and undesirable Arab sherifs who were unchecked in the exercise and abuse of their powers. Nearer the capital, a control by terrorism was employed by using the warlike Kayan tribes as a punitive force. Pirate fleets swept the seas, bringing all trade to a standstill; the bankrupt kingdom was forced to gnaw its own vitals and devour its own young in order to exist. Cruel oppression alienated the thousands of Chinese pepper planters and these industrious people gradually drifted from the State. Lawlessness stalked the land and bands of Dyak headhunters ravaged the south at the will of the despotic governors. Brunei itself became a nest of pirates to whose swift perahus even large European vessels fell victim; for forty years the charts warned merchants that it was certain death to go up river to Brunei.

In 1795, Sultan Tajuddin succeeded Sultan Omar Ali Saif-uddin: the annals say that his short reign was a vigorous one, during which

the seceding districts were brought again into subjection: envoys were sent to China and Java. It is recorded that during his reign the first European ship came right up river to the town; the captain was credited with the intention of taking the town and the vessel was 'amoked' by the Pengiran Bendahara at the bows and the Pengiran Pemancha at the stern.

Sultan Tajuddin abdicated in favour of his son who became Sultan Jemal-ul-Alam for a few months before his death, when Sultan Tajuddin reascended the throne until his death, about 1807. He was succeeded by his half brother who became Sultan Khan-zul-Alam: during his reign a second European vessel sailed up to Brunei where 'Si-Merah', the captain, was subjected to very rough treatment and lost little time in taking away his ship: there is another story that the Sultan of Trengganu, at this time, sent to the Sultan Khan-zul-Alam a caged tiger as a gift; great was the consternation in the court when the beast was released to spring around, and great the respect accorded to a minister who played with it as one plays with a cat—it must have been a very young tiger cub, but even so, the first to be seen, no doubt, by the assembled court: it is related that the Brunei Sultan returned the complement by sending to the Sultan of Trengganu a favourite concubine, yet pregnant, saying that the present he sent was indeed a part of himself; it is elaborated that the Sultan of Trengganu cherished the royal gift, from whose child by the Brunei Sultan was descended a line of Trengganu Sultans—this story would not, one imagines, be supported by any Trengganu tradition.

Sultan Khan-zul-Alam had a son, a madman of the cruellist propensities who was known as Raja Api and is sometimes referred to as Sultan Mohamed Alam but is not included in the lists of rulers of Brunei. He attempted to obtain the throne, but, in modern parlance, was liquidated, and Sultan Khan-zul-Alam was succeeded by Sultan Omar Ali Saif-uddin II, a son of Sultan Jemal-ul-Alam. The manner of Raja Api's death was inauspicious; when, in 1828, he was about to be assassinated, he requested his garroters to observe well when they strangled him, to which side his body should fall—if to the right he prognosticated good for Brunei, if to the left he foretold evil; the lifeless body fell to the left and Brunei upon evil days.

* * * *

In 1839, an Englishman, Mr. James Brooke, arrived in Kuching to find anarchy; the district having proclaimed its independence of Brunei the Sultan had sent officers to reduce the rebels and a desultory conflict had lasted for three years. The dire condition of the country and people engaged the sympathy of Mr. Brooke who returned the next year when his aid was entreated to quell the insurrection; in this he was successful and, in 1841, was declared Raja(h) of Sarawak, by Sultan Omar Ali Saif-uddin, in return for his services: in 1842, a confirmatory deed was executed by the Sultan of Brunei

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who thereby ceded Sarawak Proper, *i.e.* that portion of what is now Sarawak extending from Cape Datu to the Sadong River, for \$2500 annually, on condition that the territory should not be alienated by the Raja(h) without the consent of the Sultan.

By the middle of the 19th century, the conditions sketched at the end of the previous century had gone from bad to worse; piracy had become a scourge. In 1844, a British squadron visited Brunei to enquire into rumours of the detention of a European female in the capital; the Sultan, terrified by a report that he was to be attacked, addressed to the British Government a request for aid in the suppression of piracy and the promotion and extension of trade, and suggested the cession of the island of Labuan as a *quid pro quo* for such assistance. In 1845, Raja(h) Brooke, as Her Majesty's Agent in Borneo, was deputed by the British Government to offer the Sultan of Brunei every assistance in the suppression of piracy and British warships attacked pirate bases in what are now Sarawak and British North Borneo. The attentions of the British Navy struck, to some extent, at the very means of livelihood of Brunei and fomented internal dissention which reached a zenith in a series of assassinations and suicides which nearly exterminated the royal house. To investigate these affairs, a British force visited Brunei in 1846 but was met by armed resistance; retaliation sent the Sultan and the entire populace fleeing into the jungle—a rude shock to the widespread belief that the Brunei Government was the greatest and most powerful in the world: numbers of the captured guns, examples of the famous Brunei brass casting, were sent to England where they were melted down to construct cannon used in the Crimea. The chastened Sultan surrendered to Raja(h) Brooke the suzerainty of Sarawak Proper and acknowledged there, absolutely and unconditionally, the sovereignty of Mr. James Brooke and his heirs in perpetuity, free of any yearly payment. At the end of the same year, a naval officer was detailed to obtain the voluntary cession of Labuan: the Sultan demurred that no money payment was provided for in exchange for the cession of territory and the naval officer describes the scene as follows; "...at last I turned to the Sultan, and exclaimed firmly, 'Bobo chop bobo chop.' followed up by a few other Malay (sic) words, the tenor of which was that I recommended His Majesty to put his seal forthwith." In this manner Labuan was ceded; the cession was confirmed by treaty the next year.

The political advent of Brunei into modern history took place in 1847, when the Sultan concluded a Treaty with Great Britain for the furtherance of commercial relations and the mutual suppression of piracy; and also confirmed the cession of Labuan: the Sultan further engaged not to make any similar cession of any part of his dominions to any other nation without the consent of Great Britain; an additional clause provided for the extra territorial jurisdiction over British subjects in Brunei, a provision which was amended by Agreement in

1856 when a British Consul first took up residence in Brunei; later Consuls resided in Labuan because Brunei possessed an undesirable but quite undeserved reputation for insalubrity. A Treaty of friendship and commerce was also concluded by the Sultan with the U.S.A. in 1850.

In an access of confidence, the Chinese flowed back to Brunei and the Sultan exhibited enlightenment by encouraging planters with free passages and a subsidy, but the entire absence of internal protection and elementary justice were inimical to immigration and private enterprise and the initial commercial intercourse was soon discouraged.

In 1852, Sultan Abdul Momin, a descendant of Sultan Kemaladdin, succeeded Sultan Omar Ali Saif-uddin, by will and general consent of the people.

During his reign the decay proceeded apace; the state of internal dissension was such that a visitor to the capital, in 1855, found four of the kampongs had their guns loaded and pointed at each other.

This unfortunate period of Brunei history is the only one of which there are detailed accounts in English, in reading which it is well to bear in mind that the same dire conditions prevailed on the east coast of Borneo and indeed were a common sequence to the zenith and decline of all the Malay kingdoms.

When the power of the central government became a shadow the gathering of taxes was subjected to all sorts of abuse, agents of government demanding excessive amounts and inventing extortions of their own: "dagang serah" the forced trade whereby worthless and unwanted goods were forced upon unwilling recipients from whom prohibitive prices were demanded in exchange: 'pertolongan', 'basoh betis' and 'bongkah sauh', the euphemistic terms for other exactions. In this way was the populace goaded to desperation and rebellion. Outside Brunei the Sultan was quite unable to control the Malay and Arab governors who recognised no authority but their own, an authority so abused that one by one the various districts became disaffected, some to the point of rebellion, and no longer more than nominally bore the yoke of Brunei.

During the next half century a virtual partition of the chaotic kingdom of Brunei took place at the hands of Raja(h) Brooke on the one hand and on the other the almost equally romantic pioneers of what ultimately became the British North Borneo Chartered Company. Trade and piracy having failed, a bankrupt government realised upon the ancient kingdom and for a monetary return ceded away the *de jure* sovereignty over river after river*.

*The rivers gave their name to the districts comprised by the watershed.

The districts in the south no longer more than nominally bore the yoke of Brunei.

In 1853, the Sadong, Batang Lupar, Saribas and Kalaka rivers, went to swell Sarawak Proper, ceded to Raja(h) Brooke for a fixed annual sum: in 1861, there followed the Rejang, Oya, Muka, Tatau and Bintulu rivers, which brought the Sarawak boundary up to Kedurong Point: the cessions reserved to the Sultan no sovereign or territorial rights whatever. In 1874, a rebellion of the warlike Kayan tribes of the Baram, caused by the extortionate demands of Brunei taxgatherers, was followed by negotiations for the transfer to Raja(h) Brooke of this great watershed together with the coastline from Kedurong Point to Baram; the cession was sanctioned by Great Britain eight years later and confirmed by Deed of Cession in 1883 for an annual payment. This reduced the southern boundary of Brunei to its present limit. The loss of the allegiance of the Kayan tribes greatly weakened Brunei control over the Limbang, Belait and Tutong districts, because the warlike Kayans had been immemorially employed as a ruthless punitive force to be unleashed, at the word of the Sultan, upon recalcitrant tribes.

Nearer Brunei, an unfortunate incident resulted in the loss of the Trusan, which, in 1844, was ceded to Sarawak for \$4500 annually, in lieu of \$22,000 compensation demanded from the bankrupt Sultan on account of the murder of a party of Sarawak subjects in that district.

In the same year, the Pandaruan district was leased to a Mr. Everett who later assigned his rights to the Raja(h) of Sarawak and the sovereignty of this district eventually passed to Sarawak.

Brunei had long ceased to be able to control the Limbang district and hostile relations over a long period were terminated when in 1885 the Raja(h) of Sarawak took possession; the British Government approved the cession of the Limbang subject to the consent of the Sultan but the Sultan never did consent and would not accept the cession moneys proffered.

At Muara a Mr. W. C. Cowie was granted a piece of land 100 fathoms square on his agreeing to supply the Sultan's steamer with coal from the adjacent coal mines at five shillings a ton. In 1885 Mr. Cowie was authorised to farm revenue, levy taxes and rent out land within his domain, amounting to the enjoyment of sovereign rights; these rights Mr. Cowie sold, in 1888, to the Raja(h) of Sarawak in his private capacity and this imperium in imperio continued until 1932 when, by Deed, Muara reverted to the Sultan of Brunei.

* * * *

Having sketched the encroachment of Sarawak, let us see what happened in the north.

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In 1865 the Sultan of Brunei granted to a Mr. C. L. Moses, United States Consul for Borneo*, three cessions of territory comprising most of what is now British North Borneo. The cessions were subsequently transferred by Mr. Moses to a concern called the American Trading Company of Borneo, presided over by a Mr. Torrey upon whom the Sultan conferred a commission appointing him supreme Ruler and Governor of the ceded territory with the title of "Raja of Ambong and Marudu". The concern formed a settlement at Kemanis which was a failure and the entire interest was ultimately obtained by a Mr. Alfred Dent and an Austrian, Baron de Overbeck, the representatives of a concern called the Provisional Association which in 1877 obtained from the Sultan four grants comprising the territory formerly ceded to Mr. Moses whose concession was cancelled. As there was some doubt concerning the extent and limits of the territory in the extreme north and east, the sovereignty of which the Sultan of Brunei had formerly granted to the Sultan of Sulu for services rendered, the concessionaires took the precaution of also obtaining an overlapping grant of this territory from the Sultan of Sulu. In this manner was ceded the whole northern portion of Borneo (Sabah) from the river Sulaman on the west to the river Sibucu on the east, with to the south of Sulaman, Gaya, Sapangar, Pappar, Benoni and Kimanis, together with the island of Banguey. The Sultan appointed Baron de Overbeck the title of "Maharaja of Sabah and Raja of Gaya and Sandakan".

In 1881 the Provisional Association obtained a Royal Charter and as the 'British North Borneo Chartered Company' absorbed the remaining rivers during the ensuing decade: in 1884 the Putatan, Bangawan and Tuaran rivers were ceded together with the territory from Sipitong on the south to Kuala Pneu on the north (the Padas cession): in 1885 the Mantanani islands were ceded. All these cessions were for fixed annual payments which, utterly inadequate as they now appear, were at the time considered too high and were subsequently reconsidered and reduced.

* * * *

In 1898 the Sultan ceded to the British North Borneo Company, Mengkabong, Mengatal, Api Api, Inanam, Membakul and Kuala Lama, as compensation for raids on Gaya island by the inhabitants of those districts under the notorious outlaw Mat Salleh: in 1889 the Padas Damit was ceded and in 1902 the remaining territory between Sipitong and the Trusan changed hands to the Company; the Lawas river was transferred subsequently by B. N. B. Co. to Sarawak.

In this manner passed what is now British North Borneo from the kingdom of Brunei.

* * * *

In 1885, Sultan Abdul Momin, seeing that the continued existence of Brunei as an independant State seemed to be jeopardised by

*Nothing can be traced of this early pioneer but his memory is preserved in the name of "Bukit Marikan", in Brunei town.

the reckless and improvident cession of territory in return for annual payments in cash, had called his ministers together and entered into an engagement ('Umanah') that districts under Brunei rule should not be leased or made over to other nations, but remain and be ruled by their own successors so long as the sun and moon pursued their courses: this did not prevent certain subsequent cessions in the north, as we have seen.

At this stage, a Treaty negotiated with Great Britain served somewhat to save Brunei from itself and the Treaty concluded in 1888 provided that the relations of Brunei with foreign States should be conducted by the British Government; the Treaty also provided for the establishment of Consular officers having jurisdiction over British subjects in Brunei.

It was the Sultan Abdul Momin who wrote to the Consul General for Borneo, setting out the ancient constitution and the differences between kerajaan, kuripan and tulin, as we have seen earlier. His death occurred in 1885 when he was succeeded by his Temenggong, a son of Sultan Omar Ali Saif-uddin, who became Sultan Hashim.

The encroachment of Sarawak on one side and British North Borneo on the other was arrested, alike by the umamah and the 1888 Treaty, but annual payments in cash represented negotiable securities which were disposed of for many years in advance or sold outright for a lump sum down to be immediately squandered. The increasing financial difficulties of the Sultan and his ministers prompted unsupportable taxation of the remaining rivers; the very forms of extortion which had lost the Baram and Limbang finally drove the people of the Belait and Tutong rivers to commit murders simply to draw attention to their condition; in 1892 there was a case of human sacrifice in Belait; in a rebellion of the Tutong the disaffected element was clandestinely supported by a Minister of State against a punitive government force and sham hostilities were collusively conducted with the mutual object of plundering the quiet and peaceable inhabitants; in 1901 the people of Belait were incited to attack Tutong. Finally both rivers refused to acknowledge Brunei control and even sought Sarawak protection which was however withheld.

About this time a European was murdered in the capital and no satisfactory explanation of his death was ever forthcoming.

Brunei affairs had in fact shaped much as those of the counter-part Malay States of the peninsular, prior to European political intervention.

During the latter portion of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century commercial interests were increasingly aroused and the State became a happy hunting ground for concession seekers; on one occasion the Consulate was presented with no less than twenty-one different concessions for registration by one would-be concessionaire.

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In 1882 a coal mining lease was granted at Muara and upon the venture proving successful the lease was extended to cover the whole State. Specimens of copper, antimony ores, gold and plumbago were found in 1883 by a Mr. A. H. Everett who obtained a lease of minerals over the whole State; this lease was assigned in 1887 to the Central Borneo Company who obtained a cession of minerals rights in 1890; the same concern became by successive reconstruction first the New Central Borneo Company and then the Labuan and Borneo Company—in one metamorphosis it acquired in 1890 a lease of 100,000 acres for tobacco planting but the lease was ultimately cancelled for noncultivation. The presence of oil in the State had always been known to the inhabitants and supplies for lighting were obtained from the ground in several localities: in 1903 a free flow of oil resulted from the chance blow of a pick in a coal mine on Berembang island and thereafter oil prospecting claimed commercial attention. In 1900 the Island Trading Syndicate was established in Brunei with a monopoly of mangrove bark for the manufacture of cutch and allied products and this pioneer and successful venture has since its inception provided salaried employment for countless inhabitants of Brunei town.

Commercial enterprise did not however indicate any improvement in the prosperity of the State, rather was such enterprise in spite of internal conditions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the ancient and once wide kingdom of Brunei had been reduced to the wedge of territory comprised by the watersheds of the Belait, Tutong and Brunei rivers, together with the isolated Temburong and Labu districts, sandwiched between intrusions of Sarawak territory.

Brunei itself degenerated into a town of tumbledown matsheds standing on rotting poles over the water, the Sultan's house differing only in size, a sad contrast to the conditions which existed 450 years before; whole families left for Labuan, Limbang and B. N. B. The efforts of Consuls and the visits and warnings of successive High Commissioners proving of no avail it appeared that the very existence of the kingdom was drawing to its close.

In 1904 a Mission reported upon the conditions prevailing and as a result of the recommendations the Sultan concluded a supplementary Treaty with Great Britain in 1906, undertaking to accept a British Resident and the system of government adopted in the Federated Malay States.

In 1906, too, Sultan Hashim died and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mahomet Jemal-ul-Alam, who ruled until 1924 when a regency of the Pengiran Bendahara and the Pengiran Pemancha was maintained until 1931 when the present ruler, a son of the previous ruler, became of age and became Sultan Ahmed Tajuddin Akhazul Khairi Wadin.

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When a Resident was first appointed, there was no public expenditure, no salaried officers, no police, no coinage, no road, no public institutions or public buildings, not even a gaol; a semblance of a judicature but no justice. The ensuing years saw a steady progress towards a more desirable state and that progress has more recently been accelerated by the revenues accruing from oil mining.

APPENDIX " A ".

A Chronological list of the Sultans of Brunei.

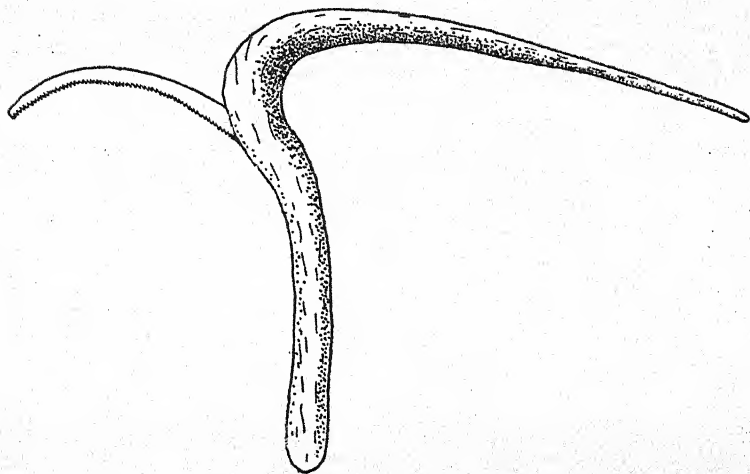
1. Sultan Mohamed.
2. Sultan Ahmed.
3. Sultan Berkat.
4. Sultan Suleiman.
5. Sultan Bolkiah (Nakhoda Ragam).
6. Sultan Abdul Kahar (Merhum Keramat).
7. Sultan Saif ul Rejal (Merhum di-Budu).
8. Sultan Shah Brunei.
9. Sultan Hassan (Merhum di-Tanjong).
10. Sultan Jalil al Akbar (Merhum Tuah).
11. Sultan Jalil al Jabar (Merhum Tengah).
12. Sultan Mohamed Ali (Merhum Tumbang di-Rumput).
13. Sultan Abdul Mobin (Merhum di-Pulau).
14. Sultan Muhidin (Merhum Bongsu).
15. Sultan Nasrudin (Merhum di-Changi)†.
16. Sultan Kamaludin (Merhum di-Lobah)†.
17. Sultan Mohamed Ala'udin (Merhum di-Brunei)†.
18. Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin (Merhum di-Makam Besar).
19. Sultan Mohamed Tajudin.
20. Sultan Mohamed Jemal ul Alam.
21. Sultan Mohamed Kanzul Alam.
22. Sultan Mohamed Alam.
23. Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin II.
24. Sultan Abdul Momin.
25. Sultan Hashim Jalil ul Alam Akamudin.
26. Sultan Mohamed Jemal ul Alam (II) K.C.M.G.
27. Sultan Ahmed Tajudin Akhazul Khairi Wadin.

†The order here may be otherwise.

A KEDAH HARVESTING KNIFE

By J. A. BAKER.

In one of the appendices to G. E. SHAW'S "Rice Planting" (1) the following definition is given : "*pisau pënggiau* = *guna-nya mēmotongkan batang padi*". In WILKINSON'S "Malay-English Dictionary" (2) we find "*giau. Mënggiau* : (Ked.) to harvest with the sickle (and not with the *tuai* or reaping-knife), = *mënyabit*. *Pisau pënggiau* : sickle."



PISAU PËNGGIAU

It is true that the *pisau pënggiau* is a sickle but the implement to which the name is usually applied in Kedah is a sickle of a type differing considerably from that commonly used in the Peninsula. Even in Kedah it is now becoming very rare, since it is associated with the practice of threshing by buffaloes (*irek*). There are, however, one or two places (e.g. between Ayer Hitam and Sanglang on the coast) where it may still be found in use as a relic. At one time it was employed much more extensively, as most of the older people of the countryside can testify. The knife, a drawing of which is here given, consists of a wooden handle produced into a long hook (*chakok*). The iron blade is let into the handle in the same plane as the hook but on the opposite side. In my specimen the handle is 9 inches from the end to the insertion of the blade, and the limb of the crook is 14 inches long from the extreme tip to the angle. The padi stalks are gathered towards the reaper with the hook, and are then brought in contact with the blade by giving the implement a half-turn with the wrist. The stalks are cut about nine inches below the ear and in olden days the ears were stacked until the day for threshing arrived. This day was

fixed by agreement. When the time came the stacks were broken up and the ears spread out on mats, the spreading being done with a pointed pole called a *dong*. The buffaloes were then brought on to do the threshing.

The name "*giau*" would appear to be associated with the Siamese "*kiau*", though this latter name is at present applied to an implement more like the Malayan *sabit*.§ The word *sabit* is hardly ever heard in Kedah, the sickle being usually referred to as *pisau* simply, though in places where the *pěnggiau* used to be employed the name is often transferred to be the ordinary curved sickle, and the older peasants in these localities often say *měng-giau* for harvesting with the sickle (N.B. the commoner Kedah expression is *kěrat padi* or *potong padi* = *měnyabit*).

That at one time the implement was used over a much more widely extended area than at present is indicated by its occurrence in the Philippines. E. B. COPELAND, in his book on "Rice" (3) reproduces a photograph from CAMUS' "Rice in the Philippines", in which he shows three harvesting implements corresponding in their main features to the Malayan *rěnggam*,* *sabit* and *pěnggiau* respectively. The implement corresponding to the *pěnggiau* is given the name *lingcao* (in Tagalog) and is described in the text as follows (op. cit. p. 237): "The *lingcao* has a knife like that of the caret (*i.e.* sickle J. A. B.), fastened into the back of a peculiar piece of wood in the form of a hook. This is the chief harvest tool in the beardless rice of the leading rice-growing provinces of Luzon. The hook draws together a bunch of rice, which is held near the top with the left hand, while the right turns the tool over and cuts the bunch off, with perhaps a foot of straw. In most places these bundles are tied as they are cut, and left to cure, at least that day, on the ground where cut. They are so uniform in size that they serve as a unit of measure. Later, they are usually shocked or stacked together on the dikes. Finally they are assembled at the threshing place or floor, and very perfectly stacked". From the photograph it would appear that the blade is set to make an acute angle with the handle and is, moreover, not in the same plane as the hook, but in form and use it evidently corresponds closely with the Kedah *pěnggiau*.

With the very limited literature at my disposal I have not been able to trace references to the use of a similar implement in other parts of the Peninsula, or in other countries, but no doubt it occurs elsewhere and it would be interesting to discover its distribution.

My thanks are due to Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie for making the drawing from a photograph taken by myself.

§In shape, however, it resembles the *Pěnggiau* being a long curved metal sickle.

*or *kěiam* or *tuai*

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A PRE-ISLAMIC ELEMENT IN THE MALAY GRAVE

By G. G. HOUGH.

The Jakun grave has been described by Hervey,¹ Evans,² and more fully by Noone.³ I saw, in company with Mr. Noone, the grave at Sayong which he describes. Later I noticed marked resemblances between the Jakun grave and certain Malay graves. I propose to describe the resemblances and to suggest a possible relation between the Jakun and the Malay grave.

1. Non-Islamic features of the Malay grave.

Wilkinson, in *Malay Life and Customs*, says that there is nothing in Malay burial customs that is not of the most orthodox Muslim character. This, though doubtless true of the religious rites, does not seem to be true of the structure of the grave itself. I have not been able to find any description of other Muslim graves that resemble the Malay grave in external features. Strictly, the erection of tombs and monuments is forbidden to Muslims, but the prohibition has generally not been observed. The construction of graves varies from place to place, and there is no one standard of orthodoxy. Substantial stone tombs are common in most Islamic countries, culminating in elaborate domed buildings. Oblong stone tombs with an upright headstone are also common, and Lane describes oblong stone tombs with stelae at the head and foot. These are large structures, big enough to contain four or more bodies. The stele at the head is often carved with texts and an emblem of the rank of the deceased and a cupola is frequently erected over the stele at the foot.⁴

(a). The obvious feature of the Malay grave is the two *batu nesan*, small and placed close together. I can find nothing like this in accounts of other Islamic graves. The only mention of two gravestones is in Lane's description, but the tombs he speaks of are clearly much larger structures. Nobody could think of erecting a cupola over one of the *batu nesan* on a Malay grave, as they are only about three feet apart: and the two *batu nesan* are not headstone and footstone: they are actually called *rantau kepala* and *rantau pinggang*, headstone and waist-stone. The sexes are also distinguished by different kinds of *nesan*. The man's is round in section, *nesan bulat*; and the woman's flat, *nesan pipih*. This has no parallel in ordinary Muslim practice.

(b). Some Malay graves have a wooden framework placed around the *batu nesan*, made of four planks set on edge and mortised together. There are graves of this kind at Endau, Mersing and Kota Tinggi, and I am told that they are not uncommon, though

¹Quoted in Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races*, vol. 2, pp. 114, 115.

²Jour. F.M.S. Mus., vol. IX, part I, 1920, p. 26. I. H. N. Evans, *Further notes on the aboriginal tribes of Pahang*.

³Jour. F.M.S. Mus., vol. XV, part 4, 1939, pp. 180—194. H. D. Noone, *Customs relating to death and burial among the Orang Ulu (Jakun) of Ulu Johore*.

⁴This, and other information about Islamic graves I have taken from T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, articles 'Grave' and 'Tomb'.

less common now than formerly. The planks are called *dapur-dapur*, and are sometimes carved. There seems to be nothing like this in other Muslim graves.

2. Parallels to these features in the Jakun grave.

These non-Islamic features are very closely paralleled in the Jakun grave.

(a). The Jakun grave has two *nesan*, of similar general appearance to the less pretentious of the Malay ones. The Jakun *nesan* are made of wood, and so are some Malay ones, though stone is now more common. And like the Malay ones, the Jakun *nesan* are spaced about three feet apart. In the Jakun graves described by Hervey (though not in those described by Noone) the flat *nesan* were only used on the graves of the females, as in the Malay practice. These resemblances are marked; there seems to be no Muslim origin for the Malay *nesan*: it therefore seems likely that the Malay *nesan* are a survival of the older aboriginal practice. The origin of the more elaborate Malay *nesan* is obscured by the addition of Muslim inscriptions.

(b). A shallow wooden framework partly filled with earth is a prominent feature of the Jakun grave. The construction of this is very similar to that of the wooden framework on some Malay graves which I have described. The Jakun one is called *mendolor*,¹ the Malay one is called *dapur-dapur*. The Jakun grave has a high earth mound: the *mendolor* is on the top, and below it is another framework of wood, of similar construction, but made of thin round poles, called the *kalang dapur*.¹ Noone suggests that this is a relic of hearth burial, while the *mendolor* is a superimposed relic of canoe burial. The name of the Malay structure—*dapur-dapur*—preserves the hearth symbolism, but its shape is like that of the *mendolor* of the Jakun grave, which Noone identifies with a canoe. This suggests that the Malay *dapur-dapur* is a fusion of these two features of the Jakun grave.

3. Possible Islamic elements in the Jakun grave.

The Jakun groups whose graves are described by Hervey and Noone both had Malay contacts. It is possible that some features of their graves are due to Malay (Muslim) influence.

(a). The body in the Jakun grave is not placed directly at the bottom of the pit, but in a recess at the side which is boarded off to prevent the earth lying directly on the body. This is also done in Malay graves, and is, of course, common Muslim practice. According to Islamic ideas, the dead body is capable of feeling pain, and care should be taken that the earth does not press upon it. Whether this practice is only Islamic I do not know: it may be more widespread, and may have come to the Jakun from another source. But the circumstances suggest that the Jakun derived it from contact with Muslim Malays.

¹Noone, op. cit., pp. 182, 183. These features of the Jakun grave may be clearly seen on the model in Raffles Museum.

(b). The name *nesan* which appears to be used by the Jakun must certainly have come *via* Malay, for it is the Persian word *nishan*—an emblem¹. This is the best piece of evidence for influence both ways. The object itself seems to have come from aboriginal sources to the Malays, to have been adapted to Muslim purposes by being given a Persian name, which then came back from the Malays to the Jakun, displacing the original name, whatever that was.

I suggest, then that the Malay grave is in part a survival of a pre-Islamic aboriginal grave, later adapted to Islam but retaining some of the original structural features: and that the Jakun graves of to-day have in their turn been influenced by Islam through contact with Malays.

A note on the hearth symbolism.

Noone suggests that the existence side by side of the *kalang dapur* and the *mendolor* is a relic of more recent canoe burial superimposed on an older custom of hearth burial. But he adds that it is not clear how the hearth burial survived in abeyance while the dead were being buried in real canoes, only to emerge again as a relic to accompany the relic of canoe burial. It is possible, however, that hearth symbolism is not involved at all. In the Malay grave the flat earth mound enclosed by boards looks like a hearth: but the word *dapur*, as I was particularly told, does not refer to the whole mound, but only to the boards: and they are not called simply *dapur*, but *dapur-dapur*, which appears to have a different meaning. Wilkinson defines *dapur-dapur* as 'the outer portion of anything'. He gives *dapur-dapur kubur*—boards enclosing a grave-mound, also *dapur-dapur susu*—the outer portion of the breast. An example occurs in *Malay Annals* 97: of a man being stabbed—*kena dapur-dapur susu-nya terus ka sabelah*. Favre's *Dictionnaire Francais-Malais*, which gives parallels between Malay and other Indonesian languages, says that in Sundanese and Batak *dapur* means 'la partie ronde du sein au milieu de laquelle se trouve la tétine' and in Dayak 'vaisselle de terre dans laquelle on fait cuire quelque chose'. It may be that the meaning 'outer portion enclosing something' is primary, and the meaning 'hearth' secondary (a hearth is enclosed so that the fire shall not be scattered). *Kalang* means a pole or crossbar, and also has specific reference to the framework round a grave-mound: Wilkinson gives *berkalang tanah*—to pile earth between barriers to form a grave-mound. It is possible, then, that the Jakun *kalang dapur* and the Malay *dapur-dapur* are using the word *dapur* in this other sense, without any reference to the hearth; although the familiarity of *dapur* in the sense of hearth makes one unwilling to accept this.

¹Wilkinson, Malay—English Dictionary. Hervey, Evans and Noone all give *nesan* as the Jakun word, and it was certainly used by the batin at Sayong.

THE NATIVES OF SARAWAK

By E. BANKS.

Fifteen years intercourse with natives throughout Sarawak leaves an impression of their origin and affinities which may not be in accord with head measurements, blood grouping and other more scientific methods but is of significance in any attempt to understand the present heterogenous assortment of people, whose apparently diverse languages and customs do not, when taken singly, appear to fit into any concerted whole.

Of the Malays, a non indigenous, maritime, trading people found on the coast, there is little to say and the same applies to the Sea Dayak or Iban, a comparatively recent proto-malayan arrival who can scarcely be considered indigenous however much he has made his influence felt.

Kayans and Kenyahs appear to have been long immigrant to Sarawak and to have in some cases so intimately amalgamated with the people they found already here that it is now no longer easy to say of some tribes whether they are the remains of immigrants or aborigines. It is of these aborigines, styled Kalamantans, that the question of origin is likely to remain obscure but there seems no reason to suppose that the Muruts, Kelabits and related tribes, the Milanos and all their branches, the non Kayan-Kenyah inhabitants of the Baram and Upper Rejang rivers, including the Punans and Ukits, together with the several kinds of Land Dayaks, are not in a sense the end products of different cultural and religious outside influences impinging on what was once the common people of the country.

The Sea Dayak is essentially a rice-cultivator and so are the Kayans and Kenyahs with their elaborate system of precautions to ensure successful crops but it is characteristic of the Kalamantans that they are now as formerly sago eaters, wholly or in part, the upcountry Muruts and Kelabits being the only notable exceptions since sago does not thrive at the altitudes where these people live. Inevitably among the rest of the Kalamantans many methods of preparing sago have arisen, boiling, frying, baking in many ways and whilst but few now depend on it solely there is hardly a tribe that does not know how to make the most of it and still often does in times of scarcity. The Land Dayak is now a fairly successful rice-cultivator but still works his abundant stock of sago palms for profit or for his own consumption; similarly the pagan and other Milano fishermen still bake their little round of balls of pearl sago or uma and the various tribes of the Baram and Rejang rivers boil their sago flour in an open stew pan into a thick white paste, known as linut or boyut which they either eat with ornamentally carved wooden spoons or a kind of bamboo chopsticks. Punans, Ukits and others spread

their flour in a paste as a thin layer all over the inside of the stew pan, baking the sago into a reddish, brittle, biscuit-like mass extremely tough but easily digested. The Punan has in fact been so dependent on wild sago that attempts to get him to settle down and not wander about so much have resulted in all the local sago palms being consumed and the Punan faced with the necessity of growing rice or vegetables.

Of the many other things this Kalamantan stock once had in common besides sago, their present-day languages show many indications of a common origin and it is amazing to find the Land Dayaks in Lundu and the Kalamantans in the Baram 2-300 miles away both using *ramin* and *hawa* for house and verandah, words neither borrowed in the course of trade or conquest since neither of these people are wanderers and now have no connection with each other, being alike neither in appearance nor in many of their habits. Yet I estimate the similarity between Land Dayak and Milano languages amounts at least to 10 per cent, omitting loan words of a common Malay origin and whilst again neither Land Dayak nor Milano have the faintest resemblance in appearance or in many ways of life, two such apparently unrelated people use many peculiar words in common—to quote but a few examples, giving the Sadong Dayak first and Mukah Milano next: *mudip*, *tidup* = alive; *arud*, *alud* = boat; *singow*, *sieng* = cat; *keping*, *beling* = ear; *ma-an*, *koman* = eat; *bajih*, *baji* = hate; *sien*, *sien* = he; *ramin*, *lamin* = house; *ganan*, *gadan* = name; *betiha*, *petayi* = pregnant; *segoh*, *lengoh* = quick; *empano*, *pano* = walk.

Whatever be the origin of these and other peculiar non Malay words, which in a general way run through the Land Dayaks of the Sadong, Samarahan and Sarawak Rivers, Milanos in Oya, Mukah, Bintulu and Niah, many Kalamantan Lahanans and Kajamans in the upper Rejang, the sago eaters in the Tinjar and Tutoh rivers of the Baram District, to the Punans and the far away Kelabits, Muruts and Adangs, there still remain a doubtless vast number of other points in common besides food and language, as an example of which the ceremonies in relation to sickness, especially of children, are of considerable interest.

The most prominent ceremonies in these circumstances are to this day still held among Milanos, where they are known in Malay as *Berbayoh*, in the case of an ordinary illness and *Berayun* in the case of something really serious. The former is naturally of less importance and is chiefly notable for the making of numerous wooden or sago-pith images by the acting witch-doctor, who relies on the image to absorb the patient's illness before he casts it away, a performance not unknown in other countries. *Berayun* is a much more serious affair, briefly characterized by a rotan swing on which patient and doctor may sit alternately, special drums and a special rotan loop for snaring the spirit of sickness and lastly

the rabong or sickness boat into which evil spirits are decoyed by tempting offers of food, drink, cloths or even money, the whole being eventually allowed to drift down river or out to sea with the subsequent recovery of the patient.

Until quite recently the practice was very frequent among Milanos and many of the Kalamantan tribes in the Baram and upper Rejang were well acquainted with these customs though they never advertised their performances, for being a people more relentless by force of circumstances they were apt to deal so severely with an unsuccessful dukun or doctor that Government usually intervened. Nevertheless the rotan swing and the snare for the evil spirit are known and used to this day among them.

It is therefore with astonishment that I witnessed both Lara and Slakau Land Dayaks of Lundu doing much the same thing when their children were ill, the formers ceremony was almost identical if slightly less elaborate than that of the Milano, the Slakau ceremony including the rabong or sickness boat, which, since they live at the foot of Mt. Poi and have no boats or a navigable stream to speak of, was only a model boat hauled up and down the length of the house, sliding along a rotan stretched between the house posts. The child in this case recovered and is now known as Bing, to the astonishment of subsequent visitors. I have not personally witnessed other Land Dayaks in the Berayun ceremony but they all know of it and make use of the swing and snare in cases of serious illness.

It appears that among a number of Sarawak natives not obviously immigrants there exists among other things a common use of sago as a good stuff, a linguistic similarity not attributable to trade or conquest and at least one complicated ceremony in connection with healing the sick. Assuming a one-time common aboriginal stock with these and other characters in common one visualizes a series of later immigrations impinging on them with varying results to produce the apparently diverse tribes in existence to day.

For example there seems to be little doubt there descended on the Land Dayaks of Western Sarawak an early sixth or seventh century Pallava invasion from Madras, doubtless *via* Java. Traces of these people have been found near Banjarmasin in Dutch Borneo and on Bukit Berhala on the Samarahan river in Western Sarawak, these last comprising a large, square block of sandstone (Yoni) with a socket in the middle for the upright stone pillar (lingum) as an object of worship, an elephant headed God known as Ganesa and a stone bull (Nandi) in a crouching position, guardian to the sacred shrine to Siva. These objects are preserved in the Sarawak Museum and are directly comparable to Indian relics of the Pallava regime in its early stages. Of the Land Dayaks present and recent, the once common trait of burning the dead—unique in Borneo—is still remembered and

even now kept up for important people among Singghi, Slakau, Lara and doubtless other tribes. Land Dayak traditions of early days, their ancestral names such as Pati and Radin, the names of their deities such as Petara, the reluctance of many to eat Deer meat and particularly the form of dancing by the men all seem to indicate a Javan and ultimately Hindu influence manifested in ways not acquired in the course of Land Dayak travels, for they claim with some reason to be the original inhabitants of this part of the world. The presence of old Pallava remains and the many almost Indian customs still assimilated by the Land Dayaks suggest the original Kalamantan people have been modified by a religious and cultural Hindu invasion.

Just as Javan and Pallava influence fell on the Land Dayaks of Western Borneo, at a later date coincident with the fall of the Majapahit Empire and the spread of Mohammedanism to Borneo, so the new religion was imposed from Brunei on neighbouring Milano tribes by a general policy of piracy and oppression which passed then as trade and government, the original Milano stock once so similar to the original Land Dayaks succumbing to the influence of Islam much as the Land Dayaks themselves had previously succumbed to a form of Hinduism, the two portions of one and the same people being barely recognizable any more after the one had been influenced by Hinduism and the other almost entirely converted to Mohammedanism.

The original Milano stock,* sago eaters with a more or less common language and customs, appears to have lived in long houses of forty to fifty families combining for purposes of defence and there are still a few such houses extant at Matu and above Dalat. Among these people the blow pipe was a common weapon, now only used as a toy by Witch-Doctors, the dead were buried in pillar tombs and they generally behaved in a thoroughly pagan fashion as do their relatives to this day in the upper Baram and Rejang rivers. A few pagans, or liko, still carry on the old traditions, many have adopted Christianity, probably most are Mohammedans, the long houses broken up into Malay-like kampongs; to the uninitiated their appearance, dress, mode of dancing, life, language appear to be all Malay but beneath this the old customs and speech are still maintained among themselves and their newly acquired religion is but a very thick veneer spread over the descendants of an ancient people. Compared with Malays they have retained a surprising virility, the number of Haji in each village is exceptionally high and the "Malay" sailor of West Australian pearl diving concerns, or of Liverpool or Cardiff docks or that carpenter one meets on a "Glen" boat in Panama, is as often as not no Malay at all but the descendant of a totally different, virile, recently pagan, Milano people now converted to

*Milano dialects differ so much from place to place and in their affinities with the languages spoken by other people that it is possible the Milanos have a polyphyletic origin.

Islam and only distinguishable abroad by the initiated. The apparently Malay-like Milano one sees to day is again but the descendant of the once common Bornean people, many but not all their own customs gone and a new lot added on his conversion to Mohammedanism.

At a date more difficult to determine came yet a third invasion falling on the original stock in a different place, on this occasion the invaders being the pagan rice cultivating Kayans and Kenyahs from Eastern Borneo, who as a warlike and head-hunting people fought and sometimes exterminated the people they met, later as so often happens assimilating a great many features of the very people they had overcome.

The true Kayan and Kenyah people have more than the relics of a once very fair state of civilization, their society divided into ruling, common and serving people, the customs relating to rice, its planting, reaping and related matters being particularly extensive. In carving, tatoo work, dancing, house and boat building, languages and many detailed customs they seem to have excelled and to have been imitated either closely or otherwise by the people with whom they came in contact. I have elsewhere described in detail their numerous "pantangs" in relation to rice planting, their mode of housing, their teknonymy, carving and tatooing, together with the more or less successful efforts of the sago-eating aboriginals to copy the newcomers, culminating in those arch-escapists the present day Punans, descendants of a number of tribes who gave up the copy struggle and wandered off into the jungle to become the homeless, cropless nomads we see to-day.

Actually intermarriage between the "Leppu pohun" or original people and the "Leppu buau" or invaders has been such that now almost every tribe contains some of both people and it is by no means to be assumed that the former are now in any way inferior, in fact the opposite is sometimes true and the aboriginals by copying and intermarriage are now sometimes superior in arts, crafts and a generally successful life, to their neighbouring invaders.

The old original Kalamantan stock is still characterized by its common and usually rather simpler speech, though now many of the words are used indiscriminately by Kayans and Kenyahs alike. The original stock is still more or less dependent on sago, many are still uncertain about rice planting and house building, retain traces of the old berbayoh and berayun ceremonies and a general vagueness about many Kayan and Kenyah affairs.

One sees therefore a Hindu invasion as the first to fall on the aboriginals of Borneo in its Western extremity, an invasion so remote that the intruders are no longer extant, represented only by a few stone images and long forgotten customs incorporated

among the present day people. In more historic times the influence of Islam on the coastal aboriginal stock, now known as Milanos, has been fairly clear; on the whole though not a particularly peaceful invasion it was not the aim of Islam to exterminate the pagans, who have more or less voluntarily accepted the new faith in recent times and themselves exerted very little influence in return on the Malay invaders. A third invasion of pagan rice cultivators from the interior fell on the same aboriginal sago eating stock living up-country and in the subcoastal belt, distinctly a war-like invasion involving the destruction of many tribes until the invaders settled down and incorporated or were incorporated by the very people they had overcome. Remains only the Murut of the upper Trusan and the Kelabit of the Baram Rivers, people of the old aboriginal stock who seem to have been chastised by everyone until they drifted off into a sago-less, inaccessible high-land which nobody else wanted and where they were left to their own devices comparatively uncontaminated by foreign influence.

That the coming of Christianity and the white man constitutes another such invasion there can be little doubt, though it is still too early to prognosticate its full effects. There is little doubt too the coming of the European so soon after the Sea Dayak infiltration from Western Borneo has for the time prevented that energetic people from leaving their mark—whatever it would have been—on some portion of the aboriginal stock: as it is the Sea Dayak with little culture of his own but a boundless energy has been to some extent copying both European and aboriginal attributes whilst prevented by the former from destroying the latter in the process.

FOLKLORE OF SADONG DAYAKS

By The Rev. Fr. J. STAAL.

These Dayaks, misnamed Land Dayaks, occupy the whole western part of Borneo. In Sarawak they live only in the First Division and settled there before any of the other races now found among them. They are numerically stronger than any other outside the large trading and mining centres which have drawn immigrants in great numbers. Dayaks do not occupy the coastal regions, but live generally upriver, and along the smaller tributaries or on hills as far up as water can easily be obtained. Without doubt they are the oldest inhabitants of these regions, they themselves claiming to be the aborigines, and as far as I know no other tribe does so.

The present day Dayak is quiet and timid: it is difficult to imagine a more timid people and they could hardly have come to the west coast to attack and drive out older inhabitants. They are very unaggressive though they enjoy, as all Eastern peoples do, litigations of every kind, and at present they continually litigate with neighbouring kampongs about land.

They were never headhunters as the Ibans were, and it must have been quite easy for the Malays to come and settle in their country and subjugate them. (Raffles in his History of Java says: "The Dayaks, or original inhabitants of Borneo are so manageable, that a handful of Malays have, in numerous places, reduced many thousands of them to the condition of peaceful cultivators of the ground" I. ch. V. p. 268—ed. 2nd, 1830). For generations they have been suppressed, they had nothing to say, could not even call their children their own, so they became more timid still, lost their manliness, did not dare to claim any rights. For these reasons they hid on high mountains and far up little unnavigable streams. They are called indolent and they are, but for how many generations have they had to work for others? These would come and relieve them of their crops, no wonder they planted just enough to keep body and soul together. Even now any Malay can do almost as he likes with a Dayak and those that know them will agree with me in this. The fact that they have been under the Malay sway for so many years has left its mark on the Dayak character. They still talk of and fear "Bi Saribas!" I remember the scare there was when the Satok bridge was being built and a lesser one during the making of the Simanggang road.

There must be and there are amongst them some legends, a few of which I have heard only after considerable difficulty from a couple of headmen with whom I was friendly: O. K. Nadee of Tebekang; O. K. Baret of Pichin; O. K. Trai of Gahat, all deceased. There seem to be very few men who know legends and apparently they are not appreciated by the younger generation.

My stay amongst them was more than a flying visit and what follows I got first-hand, straight from Dayaks themselves without Malay mediums.

I never had the intention to write about them, but as I have left the district it may serve some useful purpose to put my notes down on paper, where they may be of use to some who will live in the ulu Sadong.

The following is obtained from Sadong Dayaks only.

Where do the Dayaks come from ?

A 'nkak', the common crow, flew from Jaweh (Java) with some gravel in its beak. It dropped the gravel into the sea where it floated and increased till it became a solitary island with a high mountain. That was Sungkung. It lies to the south of the Penrissen.

People left Java and arrived at Sungkung, where they settled down, surrounded entirely by water.

(" The Javans at one period of their history seem to have sent out colonies to Borneo." Raffles I. ch. II. p. 65). Other tops appeared, Mt. Panrissen is named. Land between various mountains became dry and the people on the Sungkung were increasing in numbers, so some of them went farther afield and as they multiplied they went again farther and farther. In consequence they peopled the new lands around the Sungkung, which was naturally called the navel of Borneo : " Pasid Binua".

The name Sungkung is well-known and feared, even by the Sadong people, who can only know it from tradition. The Sungkung Dayaks have now a bad reputation and other Dayaks refuse (I know it from experience) to go there. One hears many rumours about them and the usual tale too, that the Kompani is afraid of them and leaves them alone to do as they like.

The Chinese say that the present Sungkung Dayaks, who are fierce and warlike, are descendants of a China-man who with a couple of native women took refuge on the uninhabited mountains. He was a Lim and hence the Sungkung people are Lims !

The forebears of the Dayaks lived on that mountain. Owing to their increasing number they left it and called themselves " Bidayoh ". If " bi " is a shortened form of " Abi," meaning : " In, Inside, Contains," their name would mean : " inside the dayoh ". " Dayoh " means " high ground, hilly ground " and because the high ground is all upcountry, it got latterly the meaning " ulu."

But " bi " means also " from ". Thus the name by which they call themselves is " from the highland ", not necessarily the hinterland, the upcountry, the ulu.

If you say to a Dayak : " Where do you come from ? " you ask : " Massu Api ? " And he answers you with the name of the place where he began walking ; the place where he rested on the path ; etc.

But when you want to know where a Dayak hails from, you must ask : " Bi Api Amu ? " (From where you ?). He then tells you the name of his village. It is this expression that makes me think that " Bi " is a shortened form of " Abi," because it would be difficult to say the alliterated " Abi Api Amu."

They always call people of a village: " Bi " with the name of the village, *viz.* Bi Pichin ; Bi Bintahup = Tebekangs ; Bi Bidak = people from Bidak, even there. And tribes = Bi Taup, Bi Semabang, Bi Bukar, Tirantan, Bi Dayoh. The Taup, Semabang, Bukar are ' bangsa ' of Dyaks. It is clear therefore that the " Darat " derivation is not right. The spelling " Dyak " is also faulty and it should be written as formerly " Dayah ". In Netherlands India Territory the word is constantly written " Dajak ", the Dutch " j " having a sound like " y " and not like " g " as in genius. The Sadong Dayaks call themselves " Bidayoh : " " from the highlands ", and therefore the name Land Dayak is a misnomer too.

" Bedayoh " means " to walk from the ulu, or to, or in the ulu, to go on foot in hilly country ". No Dayak will use that verb for walking on the road at Serian.

How and when did they come to Sarawak ?

In the Sadong are two main tribes, the Taup and the Semabang, who are nowadays very much mixed. The latter are numerically stronger, but there is now no village with a pure Taup or Semabang population. There are even Semabang among the Bukar (Samarahan).

The Taup seem to have settled along the main river, down from the affluent Ruben ; the Semabang preferred the hills and the remote upperwaters of smaller tributaries. They were originally one, for they claim one common ancestor. The language differs slightly, but all understand one another. A few very common words are different *viz.* water : " Omon " and " Piin."

The Semabang say that they have roamed all over the first Division, even in the mountains near Tanjong Datu, and finally settled at Gahat. A description of these wanderings is most uninteresting. They say that their headman Pati, (a Javan title), cut his likeness in the stone at the mouth of the Ruben where it is still visible. Pati went back to Java.

Their common forefather was the leader of a band of Bidayoh from the present Netherlands India Territory named Padat. Some Sarawak Dayaks know Pa This and Pa Something else, but

this is unknown in the Sadong. It is however important that the two Sadong tribes claim one and the same ancestor, who led his people into Sarawak territory.

How long ago was that ?

The late Panglima of Pichin, a Taup, whose genealogy I have, counted only 19 generations to Padat. Nawi from Lobang Batoh counts 23 and Ngunduk of Gahat 37 generations to Padat. All the names vary, not one being similar !

If we take the average 26 and count one generation of 25 years we only get 650 years, but the Dayaks must have been longer than that here in Sarawak. The Malays can have been here about that time, for Brunei had conquered Sarawak a generation before the first Portuguese called there, and Sarawak Malays were in power before that time.

The Ngkru Dayaks say that they originally came from the hills near the sea in Sarawak. They were driven out and went upcountry. Some settled in the hills of Ngkru, while others went farther still and it is said that descendants of Dayaks from Sarawak are now living along the rivers that flow due south into the Java Sea. This is quite possible, for it is not difficult to traverse the country to the Kapuas, whence the watershed of the Melawi offers no difficulties and can easily be negotiated.

But how do the two tribes arrive from one and the same father ?

Dayaks say that Padat had two wives, which is strange, for Dayaks are monogamous. The names of the wives are Tunduni and Ramui, the Taup claiming the former as their ancestress and the Semabang the latter, though both claim their progenitrix to be the first and true wife. The name of Padat's father is differently given as Kunyit and Tirisang. Several brothers and sisters of Padat came along too, and their names agree better. Padat himself settled in the Ruben, and there is still a village Tamawang Taup, which means the old settlement of Taup. Padat is said to have died at Kujang in the ulu Ruben.

One of his brothers, named Simingang (like Head Quarters 2nd Division !) went with his followers to the Sibuyau and peopled the country there. Radi'inpua reached as far as the Kalaka and Radin-Papar the Lupar. (Raden is a Javanese title.) Sibaka went across to the Semadang *i.e.* the Simpang kiri (left hand branch) Sarawak and became the ancestor of the Sennah Dayaks. A sister Sijau went to the Samarahan and is the progenitrix of the Sirin Dayaks. Another sister Temaga "founded" the Bukar tribe.

Sijau, it is said, was drowned off the mouth of the Sarawak though others say Temaga was drowned. There was still another sister Sanariti, who married a Datu Mangeng and returned to Java.

From the time of their arrival in Borneo, under Sendar and Jati Dormia, up to the time of Padat, the Taup give 42 generations, claiming to be 60 generations here. The Semabang count 36 generations, thus they say they have been over 70 generations in Borneo. The only names in common are Adam, together with Traud and Tirigu, who figure in a legend as we shall see, though it is not agreed who is the male and who the female.

A Dayak heathen prayer, which I append, enumerates 17 names of very old Dayaks, but not one appears in their genealogy.

There is a legend of "Labur Omon"—the deluge—which several Borneo tribes have though it is not universal in Sadong. There are—as elsewhere—stories of houses which have disappeared or turned into stone, as we shall see presently. Also individuals have been turned to stone and always as a punishment, generally for making fun of a dog.

Is the following folklore common to other tribes? I have never heard of a similar story, though most of the North Borneo tribes have a story of a little boy and girl who were left alone on the earth. This is the story of a brother and sister, Tirigu and Traud, who were the only ones saved from a fire that devastated the whole land.

It was hot, no rain having fallen for months and so fish could be caught by hand. Everybody was busy catching fish, only the two children of Timang enjoyed themselves with making a large hole in the earth. (It is said the father's name was Adam but an orphan child is now called "anak timang"). Fowls died for want of water, children too died of thirst for there was hardly any drinking water. Wind got up, then lightning came and suddenly from a dead "sandug" tree on the hill Senyang, came fire which spread rapidly all over the dry earth. The two children crept and hid in the hole they had dug, other people ran away, but all these were caught by the fire and burned to death.

When the children came forth again, the whole country was black, and everything was burnt. They began making dolls of earth, also a bird and that bird came to life as a crow, made from blackened earth. The orphans asked the bird to go and search for human beings, on which it flew off in wide circles but always came back, crying: "nkak, nkak, awang, nyap awang": "caw, caw, soul, not a single soul".

I was struck by the crow in their folklore, I have tried to find out whether the crow is known among other Kelamantans, but did not find any.

The children were in dire need for they had nothing to eat, except a little fish which they caught in deep pools. Then there appeared to them an old woman, ("pirinteng massu Tampa": a midwife from Tampa.) who told them to ask for fire. They

asked and a fire suddenly appeared. She then ordered them to ask for food which they did and she told them to go here and there to find a crab. ("kiuh") which they did. "Eat", she cried and they ate. Again they were told where "tari mayuh", or reeds, still grew and bade them to collect some. Later nanny helped them to weave a mat. When that was finished she sat down on it and told the children to ask for padi, as all the stores had been lost in the fire. They obeyed, when the old woman began to swing her body from side to side and padi came forth from her body, on which she disappeared.

(Is it from this that these Dayaks are such beggars?)

The crow made itself useful once more.

It flew to Java and came back with various seeds, and repeated the journey again and again. (Is the crow migratory?). These seeds grew and the present fruit trees are all from seeds which the crow brought from Java.

I also heard that it was a cacadua and no crow, which did this.

Nowadays the crow is looked upon as very destructive, uprooting shoots of maize 6 and 8 inches high. Therefore Dayaks kill it, though they are not allowed to eat it.

The end of the two children Trauod and Tirigu is similar to identical stories among other Kelamantands, where they accidentally find the way of propagation.

The little insects among the hair of their heads had escaped the fire too and the children remembering their elders a-hunting on each others' head, did so too, and one day saw two lice together, from which they deduced their manner of procreation.

It happened near Slabur, where a village named Trauch was standing. One day at a feast, when a father was blind drunk, his only son ate all the pickled food ("Kasam"), consisting of 2 or 3 cupfulls. The boy then took "tingguhan" rubber and filled the jar with it. When his sobered father wanted some "kasam" he took a piece, not noticing the difference in the dark house, but immediately, on eating he noted that it was rubber. The father was very angry with his offspring and to relieve his feelings he took hold of a dog, tied a rattan hoop around it with some rags, and so let it loose in the house. When the people saw the dog they all laughed and two boys made a headpiece of bamboo fixed on to the dog's head, causing more laughter and shouting to follow. It was still daylight.

Suddenly, wind and lightning and thunder arose and the house with all the people turned to stone. Two or three men were at the riverside and seeing what happened ran to the house, but they became rocks too.

There was another house, named Siturip, who had not been invited to the feast. When they saw the house turned to stone they "ngureh"—the drinking shout of Dayaks—and also with the house turned to stone.

The names of the rocks are Siturip, Daia, Pampung, Makar, Trauch, all in the Sengking.

One heard a few years ago. Dayaks still referring to "lampo pichah." It was handy to determine their age, but Dayaks who still remember it become fewer and fewer. It refers of course to the eruption of Krakatau in 1883.

TWO DAYAK PRAYERS.

The Dayaks are animists, the principal good spirit is Tampa ; the evil one Mindu. The following is recited during the swinging of a fowl, a white one preferably. It is generally, amongst the Sematang, performed when they "begawai" to honour a guest ("nambat"). Rice in "mankuks" on brass plates is put on a mat in front of the Orang Kaya's door and the guest, a couple of eggs are laid on the rice together with some "pangkang", rice cooked in bamboos. This rice ("bakal") is partly for the guest, partly for the evil spirits and for the animals and birds. Another performance, Tabur, has preceded it. Swinging the fowl, the "nabur" or "pancha", says, not sings :

Indi, duoh, taru	One, two, three
ompat, rimoh	four, five
onom, tiju	six, seven
Akam ¹ Tampa,	Thou, Tampa
tagi	in the beginning
malam jaji	begin happen
pirinteng ²	maker of human beings
sijikan	preserver
Tampa	Tampa
tayung, babuk	grandmother, grandfather
tawing, amang	mother, father
Tampa babuk Bagei ³	Tampa grandfather of Bagei
" " Busi	Tampa grandfather of Busi
" " Pakei	" " Pakei
" " Tanoh	" " Tanoh
" " Bugitin	" " Bugitin
" " Kamaio	" " Kamaio
" " Saot	" " Saot
" " Kalus	" " Kalus
" " Pangor	" " Pangor
" " Simpang	" " Simpang
" " Rajah	" " Rajah
" " Higah	" " Higah
" " Munjin	" " Munjin
" " Gulai	" " Gulai

Tampa babuk Kali
 " " Sibai
 " " Lingi
 " " aku

Sama Tampa
 manak⁴ nipis
 sama manak nkadud
 sama manak mubi
 sama manak sijok

bada baik
 " pagu
 " senang
 " lapang
 " bitua
 " biruntong
 " bibakat
 " bibain
 " sijok
 " dinging
 " tua ontong
 " " ikee
 " " laba
 " " padih
 " * " banah

Anak misia
 bada sijok
 kai mengo
 " sedot
 " memur
 nkede suka
 " kayu
 " ruang⁵
 " mambah
 Indi, duoh, taru, ompat
 rimoh, onom, iju
 Kam ihang siok
 niju⁶
 jukat rabat⁷

Manuk sedang⁸
 " nijuk
 " nangku
 " nigi rubian⁹
 " payu¹⁰
 " kijang
 " buas
 " pangkas
 " kutuk
 " gang

Tampa grandfather of Kali
 " " Sibai
 " " Lingi

Tampa my ancestor
 Together Tampa
 we two perform
 together we two healthy
 " " " sound
 " " " well

cause to be well
 " " good
 " " comfortable
 " " great
 " " lucky
 " " prosperous
 " " fortunate
 " " opportune
 " " cold
 " " well
 make us lucky, prosperous
 " " with fish
 " " " wild pig
 " " " padi
 " " " all things
 that are kept in the house

Children of man
 cause to be well
 not sick
 not ill
 not shiver
 beget love
 " things (barang)
 " families
 " rooms
 One, two, three, four
 five, six, seven
 Thou soul of fowl
 point at
 death-day
 Animals
 animals crying once at night
 " hidden
 " following a spoon
 " deer (rusa)
 " kijang
 bird buas (kingfisher)
 " pangkas (kingfisher)
 " kutuk (woodpecker)
 " gang (woodpecker)

nsakoh ¹¹ marang	nsakoh flying from right to left
„ majap	„ twitter once
„ minting	„ flying along the path
„ ngundung	„ assembled
„ bigigit	„ noisy
kahoh nilo	kahoh flying from a tree to the ground and back
intud sandi ¹²	knotted roots
kukah bibungkoh	roots twisted together
kolongkuat ¹³	a nightbird making a dismal sound
taha rarong	a frog
muat sapui	the same frog
munjang	munsang
Indi, duoh, taru, ompat	One two, three, four
rimoh, onom, iju, mahi ¹⁴	five, six, seven, eight
Sigan sumpah panguh,	take away curses of people
„ „ Kreng	„ „ of Malays
„ „ tammi	„ „ of neighbours
„ „ Rajah	„ „ of the Rajah
„ „ tuan	„ „ of tuans
„ „ dayung	„ „ of women
„ „ anak inya	„ „ of children
perabuh ¹⁵ pedang padih	provide padifields
uhong bumbun	places of birdsnests
nkede suka	beget love
„ kaya	„ riches
„ ruang	„ families
„ mambah	„ rooms
„ bitua	„ be lucky
„ biruntong	„ „ prosperous
birakat baik	bless well
„ slamat	„ secure.

I suppose the last two invocations are added for the benefit of the guest, that he may understand something !

This prayer was taken down from O. K. Trai of Gahat in 1931.

GLOSSARY.

1. *Akam* "thou", an address of honour, children use it to their parents, young people to their elders. In a few places one hears it constantly, even among boys or girls together, addressing an older one.
2. *pirinteng* the modern meaning is "midwife." The translation is thus not far-fetched.
3. *Bagei, etc.* These 17 names are those of very old Dayaks. A few have meanings. "Sibai" e.g. means downriver. Leprosy is called "Kandam Sibai": sickness of downriver.
4. *manak* "two, the two"; father and son; mother and daughter; not however husband and wife.
5. *ruang* "a family"; father, mother and children.
- mambang* "room; family." "kudu mambah" = how many rooms? "door" is "ngigoh" and "ngigan."
6. *niju* "point at"; imperative mood; "piniju" is index finger.
7. *jukat rabat* "the day when some one dies." When the body is buried the same day, there is only one day "pantang". When one dies in the evening and is buried next day there is a "pantang" of 2 days. People of the room in which the person died have always 4 nights "pantang". For babies and small children 1 day "pantang."
8. *manuk sedang* "Sedang" and "sedeh" mean "enough." "manuk" is not only "birds". I don't know the other meaning here.
9. *nigi rubian* "to follow a spoor." Several animals follow the tracks of man in the jungle. Spirits do too, but they follow animals more, and so an animal may bring a spirit on a man's track, and eventually to the house.

10. *payu* "deer." Dayaks are forbidden to eat them. Deer are very destructive in the padi plantations. They like the salty ashes and the young padi shoots. During a "pantang" deer sometimes destroy everything, for the Dayak is forbidden to go to the padi field during that time and a "pantang" of 7 days is a long time. Kijang is "jerak" in Dayak. They may be eaten as well as "plandok", though the "adat" is not the same in all kampongs.
11. *nsakoh* a small bird, also "saku", and "sakeh" is heard.
- kahoh* A small bird. It is forbidden to kill them and when a Dayak accidentally kills such a bird, as boys sometimes do, he quickly cuts off a large thorn or shapes a sharp edge of wood and inserts it in the bird's breast and puts it on the ground. The spirit of the bird and those of the other birds think that it was killed flying into that thorn or sharpened piece of wood !
12. *intud sandi* The large creepers in the jungle often have fantastic shapes, as do the roots on the ground. They do not understand how a root or creeper can grow in such a way and thus it must be the work of a spirit—and are afraid.
kukah bibungkoh.
13. *kolongkuat* A nightbird which makes an "ooooomm" sound every 10 seconds or so.
- taha rarong* A frog, an ordinary dark-skinned frog. The same frog being meant under two names, because it has two different croaks. "Rarong" is coffin, but Dayaks have none. "Muat" is a very bad spirit, enticing people into the jungle. In various villages are one or two individuals who claim to have met him and were detained by him for 2 or 3 days. If such a frog or bird croaks or "ooms" near a house, and especially on 2 or 3 con-

secutive nights somebody in the house will die. Similarly when the "munsang" shouts at night, but really all animals when shouting *once* during the night ("nijuk") forebode evil.

14. *mahi* Before he only counted seven, but now eight comes in. This is a good passage and shows how they think Tampa strong enough to counter-act the curses and all the evil signs. Dayaks as well as other people here are very ready to "nyumpah." Tammi are neighbours, but not people of the same house. The Dayaks of the other villages far away, not those of their own "bangsa," are called "tammi."
15. *perabuh* "provide." When a Dayak catches a wild pig or other larger animal it is said that a spirit "perabuh" that pig or animal for them. If spirits were not co-operating Dayaks would never catch anything.

TABUR.

A common prayer which is performed on various occasions : "Mari Sawa" : new year ; "Nuri" : berobat, in illness. "Ramin Bau" : new house ; when padi does not grow well. It is pronounced "Taboor". The headmen are also the officiating priests "Nabur" ; or "Pancha", and when talking Malay they say "Tukang Tabur". Women performers are called "Barih dayung." The "nabur" is dressed in a multi-coloured loincloth (Tahup), or he should be so dressed for at present some wear trousers of coloured cloth, and a long coat and headdress ("Tondo").

The following things are required, which are lying on a mat, the "nabur" sitting cross-legged in front of it :—

<i>Isam</i>	..	..	Legs, wings, head of fowl, cooked with rice in bamboo.
<i>mpagang</i>	..	..	rice cooked in bamboos, also called "pangkang" (Taup).
<i>piring</i>	..	..	a bundle of cooked rice.
<i>kiradan</i>	..	..	rice cooked in leaves : ("bang" or "riang" leaves).
<i>sambang</i>	..	..	a thin bamboo with various food-stuffs.
<i>kasam</i>	..	..	pickled meat.
<i>mpah</i>	..	..	sirih quid.
<i>gangang</i>	..	..	a half chicken dried.
<i>nyok</i>	..	..	tuak.
<i>birawan</i>	..	..	string of beads.
<i>kudog wang mankuk</i>	..	..	lying in saucer with water.
<i>mangkuk tabur</i>	..	..	a saucer.
<i>tampih tabur</i>	..	..	a plate
„ <i>gawai</i>	..	..	„
„ <i>guna</i>	..	..	„ : all the things, except edible, used at a "gawai" and kept in the "barih", where "bujangs" sleep, are called "guna."
<i>tampih pirangka</i>	..	..	specimens of all building materials.
<i>sungkoh simpat</i>	..	..	bamboos which are four.
<i>wang tanah</i>	..	..	on the ground, supporting offer-house, which can be seen in all Dayak kampongs.

The following is offered to the evil spirits :—

<i>mpagang mahi</i>	..	..	"pangkang" eight pieces (cut up !)
<i>kiradan mahi</i>	..	..	"kiradan" " "
<i>kasam</i>	..	..	"kasam" " "
<i>piring</i>	..	..	"piring" " "
<i>sambang</i>	..	..	"sambang" " "
<i>mpah</i>	..	..	quids " "
<i>bareh sundoi</i>	..	..	rice "pulut".

<i>bareh rayeh</i>	..	..	white rice
<i>ntuloh</i>	..	..	an egg
<i>duit</i>	..	..	coins
<i>mpulok dyah siok</i>	..	..	a tiny bamboo with the blood of the fowl.

The following things are given to "manuk" i.e. all animals:—

<i>mpagang ompat</i>	..	..	four pieces of "panggang"
<i>sambang</i>	..	..	"sambang"
<i>isam indi tanggum</i>	..	..	one handful of "isam"
<i>mpah ompat</i>	..	..	four quids
<i>kasam ompat</i>	..	..	"pieces pickles
<i>piring</i>	..	..	"piring"
<i>kiradan</i>	..	..	"kiradan"
<i>tadip ati siok iju</i>	..	..	seven tiny pieces of fowl's liver
<i>mankuk bubur</i>	..	..	flour and sugar mixed.

The prayer as it is recited at Lobang Batoh. Several Dayaks have helped me to write it down and to find the meaning.

<i>Jeei¹, Tampa²</i>	..	..	There, Tampa
<i>tagi³</i>	..	..	in the beginning
<i>malan jaji⁴</i>	..	..	begin happen
<i>Tampa</i>	..	..	Tampa
<i>pirinteng⁵</i>	..	..	maker of human beings
<i>sijankan</i>	..	..	preserver
<i>Tampa</i>	..	..	Tampa
<i>Tayung, Babuk</i>	..	..	Grandmother, grandfather
<i>Ayang⁶, amang</i>	..	..	Mother, Father
<i>tuaa, mbaa</i>	..	..	father-in-law, mother-in-law
<i>Gati!</i>	..	..	Come here!
<i>manuk⁷, ngompah</i>	..	..	we two chew sirih
<i>manak ngudut</i>	..	..	we two smoke the water-pipe
<i>manak nurah</i>	..	..	we two in front of
<i>batang mpagang</i>	..	..	rice cooked in bamboos
<i>iju</i>	..	..	seven
<i>sungkoh simpat</i>	..	..	bamboos which are four (si ompat)
<i>manuk⁸, andu</i>	..	..	beasts of day
<i>manuk ngaroh</i>	..	..	beasts of night
<i>manuk payu</i>	..	..	deer
<i>manuk kijang</i>	..	..	kijang
<i>Jeei Tampa</i>	..	..	There, Tampa
<i>tapan tapu⁹</i>	..	..	bamboo tapan
<i>sapah tipen¹⁰</i>	..	..	large offerplate
<i>jungkat pachat¹¹</i>	..	..	rag of net
<i>raung rarab¹²</i>	..	..	hat used when taking babies outside
<i>katang rampan¹³</i>	..	..	beam of ceiling
<i>bubung kasu¹⁴</i>	..	..	ridge pole
<i>jangan kamban¹⁵</i>	..	..	frame of window
<i>bato nto irau</i>	..	..	vegetable thread to sew atap.
<i>sungkoh simpat</i>	..	..	bamboos which are four

<i>saku matas</i> ¹⁶	..	..	saku across
„ <i>marang</i>	..	..	„ overhead
„ <i>ngudung</i>	..	..	„ together
„ <i>bijampung</i>	..	..	„ in a flock
<i>Tauh</i>	..	..	Tauh bird
<i>bubot</i>	..	..	bubot (crow pheasant)
<i>giang</i>	..	..	giang (woodpecker)
<i>buas</i>	..	..	buas (kingfisher)
<i>pangkas</i>	..	..	pangkas bird
<i>kutuk</i>	..	..	kutuk (woodpecker)
<i>tambau maboh</i>	..	..	large black worm 1 foot long
<i>nuyor blanting</i>	..	..	another large worm
<i>niud sandi</i> ¹⁷	..	..	knotted roots
<i>kukah bibungkoh</i> ¹⁸	..	..	roots tied and twisted
<i>ujan jalah</i>	..	..	rain and sunshine
<i>buroh mpahah</i>	..	..	rain and heat
<i>tunggu ngatub</i> ¹⁹	..	..	dead tree fallen
<i>karintuban</i>	..	..	fall without wind
<i>kayu tumpang</i>	..	..	tree uprooted
<i>kayu mangor</i>	..	..	tree fallen over another
<i>kayu patah</i>	..	..	tree broken
<i>kayu ruoh</i>	..	..	tree fallen down
<i>Babai gatoh</i>	..	..	grasshopper climbing
„ <i>alah</i>	..	..	„ defeated
„ <i>bitanggu</i>	..	..	„ hiding
<i>Manuk nijuk</i>	..	..	Animals shouting once at night
<i>manuk nangku</i>	..	..	„ hidden
<i>Kuhoh nilo</i>..	..	..	kuhoh flying from a tree to the ground and back again
<i>Kuhoh ntuoh</i>	..	..	kuhoh crowing
„ <i>ngirurok</i>	..	..	„ quarrelling
<i>Manuk kasih</i>	..	..	bird kasih
„ <i>kandang</i>	..	..	„ kandang
<i>kandang ngakup</i>	..	..	kandang hatching
<i>gura nkuhan</i> ²⁰	..	..	gura digging a grave
<i>Bau nakak</i>	..	..	hawk cackling
„ <i>nukung</i>	..	..	„ „ at night
„ <i>nchaduh</i>	..	..	„ hiccoughing
„ <i>ngiratis</i>	..	..	„ loudly crying
<i>taban ngirinchang</i> ²¹	..	..	take hovering
<i>ngirabang</i> ..	..	..	flying very fast
<i>Taha rarong</i> ²²	..	..	Frog : small frog, dark with red spots
<i>muat sapui</i>..	..	..	muat sapui
<i>Jahang kadam</i> ²³	..	..	carcass rotten
„ <i>marah</i>	..	..	„ of killed
„ <i>bintung</i>	..	..	„ of white large rat (moon rat)
„ <i>ngalung</i>	..	..	„ of rat with red spots
„ <i>sikak</i>	..	..	„ of squirrel
„ <i>biawak</i>	..	..	„ „ biawak (monitor lizard)
„ <i>bingeh</i>	..	..	„ „ a short snake

<i>Jahang nyipeh</i> ²⁴	..	carcass of snakes
<i>Sirabababah manuk</i>	..	All these things
<i>sigan</i> .. ..	..	take away
<i>sahan</i> .. ..	..	save us from
<i>timbang</i> .. ..	..	keep away
<i>kusan</i> .. ..	..	make clean
<i>manuk</i> ²⁵ .. ..	..	for us two
<i>Gawai mpat</i> .. ..	..	Gawai four
<i>tinan manak</i> .. ..	..	used for the two of us
<i>bakal nganyad</i> .. ..	..	provisions on the way
<i>Patuk siok</i> .. ..	..	Beak of fowl
<i>merian tukukne</i> .. ..	..	to use it picks
<i>nambir</i> .. ..	..	to fly
<i>minan raadne</i> .. ..	..	to use its wings
<i>Rabuh arung Pideh</i> ²⁶	..	Fallen riverbed Pideh
<i>Arung Simujan</i> .. ..	..	Riverbed Simurjan
.. <i>Nopkilapu</i> .. ..	..	.. Nopkilapu
.. <i>Bidugbiduai</i> .. ..	..	.. Bidugbiduai
<i>Jukat rabat</i> ²⁷ .. ..	..	day of death
<i>sumpah panguh</i> .. ..	..	curse of mankind
<i>sukang baboh</i> .. ..	..	spoken (by) mouth
<i>pisuh paki</i> ²⁸ .. ..	..	abuse of vulva
<i>kai bisa</i> .. ..	..	not hurt
<i>kai mandi</i> .. ..	..	not take effect
<i>kai sarap</i> .. ..	..	not be felt
<i>kai ngiratur</i> .. ..	..	not pierce
<i>kai tamah timanjum</i> .. ..	..	not go in deep
<i>Anniboh</i> .. ..	..	That's all
<i>Jeei boh, Tampa</i> ²⁹ .. ..	..	There boh Tampa
<i>Jeei, Tampa</i> .. ..	..	There Tampa
<i>batandu tusak</i> .. ..	..	the sun is risen
<i>nusak agah</i> .. ..	..	rises to news
<i>nusak arung</i> .. ..	..	rises riverbed
<i>burung budik</i> .. ..	..	bird budik
<i>saku ntau</i> ³⁰ .. ..	..	saku on the right
<i>ajar ajar</i> .. ..	..	teach
<i>prugiang</i> .. ..	..	never to forget
<i>ngajar ati</i> .. ..	..	to teach the liver
<i>ngajar awang</i> .. ..	..	.. heart
<i>mada pandei</i> .. ..	..	cause to be clever
<i>nungkeng</i> .. ..	..	to make parangs
<i>pandei nyibong</i> .. ..	..	to be clever, to make sheaths
<i>nkede suka</i> .. ..	..	beget love
<i>nkede kaya</i> .. ..	..	beget riches
.. <i>ruang</i> .. ..	..	.. families
.. <i>mambah</i> .. ..	..	.. rooms
.. <i>sakud</i> .. ..	..	.. wood for floor
.. <i>nahun</i> .. ..	..	.. building sites
<i>Tampa, sawa</i> .. ..	..	Tampa, year
<i>binteh, buran</i> .. ..	..	stars, moon

<i>ambun, ujan</i>	dew, rain
<i>Pingintu rajah Nabau</i> ³¹	Protector of King Nabau
<i>nintu ruang</i>	Protect the families
„ <i>mambah</i>	„ „ rooms
„ <i>sakud</i>	„ „ wood for floors
„ <i>nahun</i>	„ „ sites
<i>Tampa guna</i> ³²	Tampa guna
<i>guna milala</i>	guna to know thoroughly
<i>milala uhong</i>	to know our land
„ <i>nanggeh</i>	„ the rivermouth
<i>guna sandi</i>	guna sandi, (which is at Kujang)
<i>kirasik, bubur</i>	sand, gruel
<i>nkajoh Jangkur</i>	the hill Jangkur
<i>Uri padih</i>	manure for padi
<i>Tayung Kari</i>	Ancestress (of) Kari
„ <i>Apol</i>	„ Apol
„ <i>Singkun</i>	„ Singkun
„ <i>Nyaman</i>	„ Nyaman
„ <i>Ngawan</i>	„ Ngawan
<i>Burung umbin</i>	Bird umbin
„ <i>iring</i>	„ iring
„ <i>umbin</i>	„ umbin
<i>Burung undan</i> ³³	pig for slaughter at gawai (also a duck)
<i>Ikan buai</i> ³⁴	Crocodile
<i>tambak</i> —.. ..	tambak
<i>malang</i> —.. ..	malang
<i>lajun</i> —.. ..	lajun
<i>labang</i> —.. ..	labang
<i>iyuh</i> —.. ..	iyuh
<i>bintutu</i> —.. ..	bitutu = eel
<i>Ayar Gadong</i>	Water of Gedong
<i>pitingi Sibandar</i> ³⁵	headman Sibandar
<i>Kalaka, Kamaio</i> ³⁶	Kalaka, Kamaio
<i>Sibangan</i>	Sibangan
<i>Rom yang Pituan</i> ³⁷	Rom yang Pituan; an extraordinarily strong man
<i>tuan besar</i>	superior
<i>tuan Bruk</i>	Sir Brooke
<i>Rajah Sineh</i>	King of China
<i>Rajah Jaweh</i>	King of Java
<i>Tampa</i>	Tampa
<i>bumbung binua</i>	headking of the land
<i>Gunya amang Musa</i> ³⁸	Gunya father of Musa, (of Ramun)
<i>Laka, Kara, Guba</i>	Laka, Kara, Guba
<i>Bandang, Bantu</i>	Bandang, Bantu
<i>Tunei, Baga, Miyai</i>	Tunei, Baga, Miyai
<i>Julai, Ginchang</i>	Julai, Ginchang
<i>Babuk Pati</i>	Grandfather of Pati (of Sengai)
<i>Babuk Nyai</i>	„ of Nyai

<i>Areh amang</i>	<i>Areng</i>	..	Areng father of	<i>Areng</i>
<i>Usuk</i>	„	<i>Mungkan</i>	..	<i>Usuk</i> „ <i>Mungkan</i>
<i>Najah</i>	„	<i>Buan</i>	..	<i>Najah</i> „ <i>Buan</i> (of <i>Slabi</i>)
<i>Nambai amang</i>	<i>Ngindung</i>	..	<i>Nambai</i> father of	<i>Ngindung</i>
<i>Song, Saduk</i>	..	..	..	<i>Song, Saduk</i>
<i>Dugag, Dungngag</i>	..	..	..	<i>Dugag, Dungngag</i> (of <i>Kuran</i>)
<i>Gima amang</i>	<i>Tawek</i>	..	<i>Gima</i> father of	<i>Tawek</i> (of <i>Sirangkan</i>)
<i>Manjat</i>	„	<i>Sunding</i>	..	<i>Manjat</i> „ <i>Sunding</i>
<i>Dibong</i>	„	<i>Bungan</i>	..	<i>Dibong</i> „ <i>Bungan</i> (<i>Ngkaru</i>)
<i>Pagu</i>	„	<i>Jarum</i>	..	<i>Pagu</i> „ <i>Jarum</i>
<i>Kalim</i>	„	<i>Lingong</i>	..	<i>Kalim</i> „ <i>Lingong</i> (<i>Mayang</i>)
<i>Pengo</i>	„	<i>Jan</i>	..	<i>Pengo</i> „ <i>Jan</i>
<i>Gintong</i>	„	<i>Tandok</i>	..	<i>Gintong</i> „ <i>Tandok</i> (<i>Mentung</i>)
<i>Gumbira, Sadek</i>	..	..	..	<i>Gumbira, Sadek</i>
<i>Duri</i>	..	..	..	<i>Duri</i> (mpang)
<i>Langas amang</i>	<i>Madih</i>	..	<i>Langas</i> father of	<i>Madih</i>
<i>Rimpah</i>	„	<i>Dinah</i>	..	<i>Rimpa</i> „ <i>Dinah</i>
<i>Babuk Sugoi</i>	..	..	..	Ancestor of <i>Sugoi</i>
„	<i>Nalang</i>	..	..	„ <i>Nalang</i>
<i>Tumpu, Tungan</i>	..	..	..	<i>Tumpu, Tungan</i> , (<i>Mantu</i>)
<i>Nyanguh, Nyangkang</i>	..	..	..	<i>Nyanguh, Nyangkang</i>
<i>Kalu rajah binua</i>	..	..	..	<i>Kalu</i> king of the country
<i>Bel amang</i>	<i>Kuang</i>	..	<i>Bel</i> father of	<i>Kuang</i> (<i>Bunan</i>)
<i>Banta</i>	„	<i>Dagang</i>	..	<i>Banta</i> „ <i>Dagang</i>
<i>Jawan</i>	„	<i>Barum</i>	..	<i>Jawan</i> „ <i>Barum</i>
<i>Barum</i>	„	<i>Pilang</i>	..	<i>Barum</i> „ <i>Pilang</i>
<i>Sukit</i>	„	<i>Uli</i>	..	<i>Sukit</i> „ <i>Uli</i>
<i>Uli</i>	„	<i>Alum</i>	..	<i>Uli</i> „ <i>Alum</i>
<i>Sula</i>	„	<i>Biar</i>	..	<i>Sula</i> „ <i>Biar</i>
<i>Biar</i>	„	<i>Nadur</i>	..	<i>Biar</i> „ <i>Nadur</i>
<i>Nadur</i>	„	<i>Kaya</i>	..	<i>Nadur</i> „ <i>Kaya</i>
<i>Kaya</i>	„	<i>Damang</i>	..	<i>Kaya</i> „ <i>Damang</i>
<i>Ranga</i>	„	<i>Rangut</i>	..	<i>Ranga</i> „ <i>Rangut</i>
<i>Dungam</i>	„	<i>Mais</i>	..	<i>Dungam</i> „ <i>Mais</i>
<i>Nod</i>	„	<i>Kuran</i>	..	<i>Nod</i> „ <i>Kuran</i>
<i>Kuran</i>	„	<i>Nampui</i>	..	<i>Kuran</i> „ <i>Nampui</i>
<i>Sangol</i>	„	<i>Jukoh</i>	..	<i>Sangol</i> „ <i>Jukoh</i>
<i>Tepang</i>	„	<i>Jajoh</i>	..	<i>Tepang</i> „ <i>Jajoh</i>
<i>Sasar tayung Palek</i>	..	..	..	<i>Sasar</i> , ancestress of <i>Palek</i> (of <i>Sengab</i>)
<i>Jandar amang Rasi</i>	..	..	..	<i>Jandar</i> father of <i>Rasi</i>
<i>babuk Laku</i>	..	..	..	Ancestor of <i>Laku</i>
<i>Sok amang</i>	<i>Sulu</i>	..	<i>Sok</i> father of	<i>Sulu</i>
<i>Ambin</i>	„	<i>Panguh</i>	..	<i>Ambin</i> „ <i>Panguh</i>
<i>Gayang</i>	„	<i>Lakas</i>	..	<i>Gayang</i> „ <i>Lakas</i> , (of <i>Daha</i>)
<i>Sundok</i>	„	<i>Babas</i>	..	<i>Sundok</i> „ <i>Babas</i>
<i>Galang</i>	„	<i>Mong</i>	..	<i>Galang</i> „ <i>Mong</i>
<i>babuk Sindek</i>	..	..	..	Ancestor of <i>Sindek</i> (of <i>Kujang</i>)
„	<i>Dawai</i>	..	..	„ <i>Dawai</i>
„	<i>Masik</i>	..	..	„ <i>Masik</i>
„	<i>Marai</i>	..	..	„ <i>Marai</i>

<i>Tasi, Baring</i>	<i>Tasi, Baring</i>
<i>Tilun amang Rajuh</i>	<i>Tilun father of Rajuh (of Temung)</i>
<i>babuk Nkah</i>	<i>Ancestor of Nkah (of Tebedo)</i>
„ <i>Nkabang</i>	„ <i>Nkabang</i>
<i>Pandong amang Ngayap</i>	<i>Pandong father of Ngayap (of Temah)</i>
<i>babuk Jako</i>	<i>Grandfather of Jaki</i>
„ <i>Jimah</i>	„ <i>Jimah</i>
„ <i>Mango</i>	„ <i>Mango</i>
„ <i>Mangeng</i>	„ <i>Mangeng</i>
<i>babai pingiran Kunchi</i>	<i>grandfather, headman Kunchi (Tebekang)</i>
<i>amang Duyeng</i>	<i>father of Duyeng</i>
<i>Duyeng amang Dindeng</i>	<i>Duyeng father of Dindeng</i>
<i>babuk Laka</i>	<i>grandfather of Laka</i>
„ <i>Lahar</i>	„ <i>Lahar</i>
<i>Tampa amang Lingah</i>	<i>Tampa father of Lingah</i>
<i>amang Bihis</i>	<i>father of Bihis</i>
<i>babuk Manching</i>	<i>grandfather of Manching</i>
„ <i>tagi</i>	<i>ancestor in the beginning</i>
<i>Tampa babuk Imam</i>	<i>Tampa ancestor of Imam</i>
<i>babuk Libau</i>	<i>grandfather of Libau</i>
<i>Nyong babuk Jibang</i>	<i>Nyong grandfather of Jibang (Kru-sin)</i>
<i>Chuuh „ Mayung</i>	<i>Chuuh „ Mayung</i>
<i>babuk Nyugor</i>	<i>grandfather of Nyugor</i>
<i>Tampa babuk Bawa</i>	<i>Tampa grandfather of Bawa (Bidak)</i>
„ „ <i>Atuh</i>	<i>grandfather of Atuh (Payan)</i>
<i>babuk Ajog</i>	<i>ancestor of Ajog</i>
„ <i>Sijah</i>	<i>grandfather of Sijah</i>
„ <i>Sukui</i>	„ <i>Sukui</i>
<i>Tampa babuk Ajak</i>	<i>Tampa ancestor of Ajak</i>
<i>babuk Bahau</i>	<i>grandfather of Bahau</i>
„ <i>Saot</i>	„ <i>Saot</i>
„ <i>Ajat</i>	„ <i>Ajat</i>
<i>Tampa babuk Lili</i>	<i>Tampa grandfather of Lili (Sigintin)</i>
<i>babuk Jangang</i>	<i>grandfather of Jangang</i>
<i>Tampa ayang</i>	<i>Tampa mother</i>
<i>tayung Utel</i>	<i>grandmother of Utel</i>
<i>Tampa amang Andoi</i>	<i>Tampa, father of Andoi</i>
<i>amang Tatam</i>	<i>father of Tatam (Gahat)</i>
<i>babuk Busi</i>	<i>grandfather of Busi</i>
„ <i>Pakei</i>	„ <i>Pakei</i>
„ <i>Rijang</i>	„ <i>Rijang</i>
„ <i>Dawang</i>	„ <i>Dawang</i>
„ <i>Kalus</i>	„ <i>Kalus</i>
„ <i>Simpang</i>	„ <i>Simpang</i>
„ <i>Duyom</i>	„ <i>Duyom</i>
„ <i>Langgang</i>	„ <i>Langgang</i>

<i>Tampa babuk Tingan</i>	..	Tampa grandfather of Tingan (Tas- soh)
<i>babuk Bawang</i>	..	grandfather of Bawang
<i>" Saot</i>	..	<i>" Saot</i>
<i>" Panjar</i>	..	<i>" Panjar</i>
<i>Tampa babuk Janka</i>	..	Tampa grandfather of Janka
<i>amang Namba</i>	..	father of Namba
<i>Kalung</i>	..	Kalung
<i>Lajur amang Basah</i>	..	Lajur father of Basah
<i>Tampa babuk Pina</i>	..	Tampa grandfather of Pina
<i>babuk Masun</i>	..	grandfather of Masun
<i>" Rayang</i>	..	<i>" Rayang</i>
<i>" Nasek</i>	..	<i>" Nasek (Bato)</i>
<i>" Gunjar</i>	..	<i>" Gunjar</i>
<i>" Nyankar</i>	..	<i>" Nyankar</i>
<i>" Roe</i>	..	<i>" Roe</i>
<i>" Saba</i>	..	<i>" Saba</i>
<i>Tampa galang Binari</i> ³⁹	..	
<i>suah nuko</i>	..	always making toko hats
<i>" ngirayah</i>	..	<i>" make brims</i>
<i>ngedang dangah</i>	..	allow to have what is mine
<i>" soun</i> ⁴¹	..	<i>" " whatever I get</i>
<i>" tungku</i>	..	<i>" " firestones</i>
<i>" bilangah</i>	..	<i>" " earthenware pots</i>
<i>Jeei Tampa</i>	..	There Tampa
<i>tayung, pirinteng</i>	..	grandmother, midwife
<i>sijankan</i>	..	preserver
<i>perabuh</i> ⁴² <i>anak Tampa</i>	..	provide for child of Tampa
<i>anak ihang</i>	..	child of the soul,
<i>" bigumbang</i>	..	<i>" from the old sites</i>
<i>" bimawang</i>	..	
<i>perabuh anak Sirapi</i> ⁴³	..	provide for spirits of Sirapi
<i>anak Sirubu</i>	..	spirits of Sirubu
<i>" bintap</i>	..	<i>" jungle hut</i>
<i>" biradah</i>	..	<i>" sprits from felled jungle</i>
<i>" bilusek</i>	..	<i>" a scrub with red flowers</i>
<i>" bilambai</i>	..	<i>" grass</i>
<i>" bitanah</i>	..	<i>" the earth</i>
<i>" bitarun</i>	..	<i>" " jungle</i>
<i>" silabur</i>	..	<i>" silabur</i>
<i>" siturip</i>	..	<i>" siturip</i>
<i>" berambah</i>	..	<i>" the rimbu</i>
<i>" sinangan</i>	..	<i>" sinangan</i>
<i>Bungatel</i>	..	Bungatel hill, Bato-Trabat
<i>Bungpangis</i>	..	Bungpangis " , "
<i>anak Bimpunok</i>	..	Bimpunok " , near Mantu
<i>Miringi</i>	..	Miringi " , "
<i>Sibauh</i>	..	Sibauh " , " Mayang Men- tung
<i>BiPangkeng</i>	..	Pangkeng " , " Bugu

<i>BiTuweng, Bi Sasang</i>	..	Tuweng, Sasang, Labek
<i>anak bi Labak</i>	..	.. hills near Ngkru, Sibintin Payau
		The ending is :
<i>perabuh kitukit kitida</i> ⁴⁴	..	provide ?
<i>ngidah pantang</i> ⁴⁵	..	.. the troublesome pantang
.. <i>pimari</i>	..	.. ,, annoying " pari "

SOME EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Jeei* An exclamation. He throws some rice mixed with tuak over the verandah, and outside.
2. *Tampa* The highest good spirit. Elsewhere "Topa"—"Tapa". It is clear that the prayer is addressed to him, and that they consider him to be able to deliver them from all that is bad.
3. *tagi* "in the beginning"; "sanni" is very long ago, "nyammin" is formerly; "nyammin nyandu" is day before yesterday.
4. *malan, jaji* Infinitives. "mulai"—"jadi"
5. *pirinteng* now used for midwife; translation is not far fetched.
6. *ayang*.. .. "mother." "andeh" is very common
7. *manak* "we two" used for father and son: mother and daughter, not for husband and wife.
"giduan" is you two, any two persons addressed. "brameh" is used for bosom friends for two of the same sex, not mixed.
8. *manuk* used for birds, which however is "kito": a classifier; "jalu" is animals.
9. *tapan tapu* is a length of bamboo cut above and below two nodes, used as water-carrier. A small oblong hole is cut near the top. The usual bamboo for carrying water is a length with a node as bottom and open at the top. The "tapan tapu" is used to preserve the umbilical cord of all the children born in the room. This is cut with a bamboo knife, iron forbidden. The hole is closed and it is thrown on the "loft" (rampan). If a new house is built the newer ones are taken along, the old ones left with the other rubbish.
When babies are washed in the house, the "tapan tapu" must be used; the use of the other kinds of watercarrier is forbidden.
There is no verb in this paragraph.

10. *sapah tipen* .. An earthenware large plate, used to hold offerings in the "tipen", small huts, occasionally very elaborately worked, which are found in all Dayak kampongs.
11. *jungkat pachat* .. a rag of a net (jala). When a baby is born an old piece of a "jala" is hung over the sleeping place to protect the child.
12. *raung rarab* .. This is the large hat made of bamboo. The outer skin is peeled off and the inside is cut thin and flattened, sewn together with rattan. A round rattan is sewn around the rim. These hats are of 16 to 20 inches diameter. A rattan woven crown, 5 inches diameter and 6 inch. high, is fixed under it. Any person who takes a baby outside the house must wear this hat, which is also called "toko sue": "toko" = hat, "sue" = suckling child. Green leaves are generally tied above the hat as Camouflage, for the child must be kept out of sight of an evil spirit in the sky, called "Rapau", who is inimical to babies. When a baby is taken some distance from the house, a firebrand is also carried by the person who carries the child, or by somebody else who walks in front as a sort of smokescreen. Camouflage and smokescreens, modern European inventions, have been used by Dayaks for ages!
- Another spirit "Misen" lives in the ground, which is also unfriendly to babies, on account of whom they do not dare to put the child outside on the verandah,.
13. *katang rampan* .. Beam of the ceiling. Must be strong, for the loft holds many things. It is the sleeping place of girls, but not everywhere. Small white and black bottles with a stone and cocoanut oil hang underneath, "Pichong Kandang." For every "darah", one. The female spirit "Dayung Ihang"

- lives on Penrissen and is the protectress of all women. The person who dares to disturb these bottles will fall ill.
14. *bubung kasu* .. The ridgepole. According to Raffles "Sunan" means ridgepole of the roof, and is the term adopted by the sovereign. "Sunan" "Susunan", "susuhunan". (II. x. p. 128. footnote.)
15. *jangan kamban* .. "kamban" is the portion of the roof that can be lifted to let in daylight. If the frame would break they would be exposed. As soon as it is twilight that window is closed, because spirits are especially active at night. Often monkey skulls, shells, teeth are fastened to it to frighten away antus.
16. *saku* .. is a small bird, same as "nsakoh", what follows is all very unlucky in Dayak eyes. "Cikassi saku" to believe, listen to birds. When a Dayak starts out for anywhere and he hears birds that are "salah", he returns and delays. If birds are good and something goes wrong they say in astonishment: "and the birds were good". When such a bird flies into the house or through or under the house, it is a very bad sign. On occasions the house has been abandoned.
17. *ntud sandi* .. The twisted aerial rattan, which often have fantastic shapes. Several contain water.
18. *kukah bibungkoh* .. Tied roots. I suppose those roots are a nuisance on a padi field, do not burn well, occupy space, are a danger of tripping, especially when weeding in the growing padi.
19. *tunggu* .. is a dead tree-trunk. When trees fall, especially over one another, it makes the clearing of a padi-field more difficult. Such trees do not burn readily. Dayaks always leave one or two trees standing, cutting off several branches that it may not

throw too much shadow. A few trees must remain for the spirits to roost on familiar ground. If such a tree falls it is a calamity, for the spirits have no perches and they will probably turn against them, follow them to their homes and do them harm. You now and then hear singing on a paddi-field, a couple of women striking with a small stick on the brim of a "mankuk", that is called: "mparing ihang", to call the souls back. This is also done at a "gawai" in the house to invite the souls of the departed to return for the feast.

20. *gura nkuhan* .. the bird "gura" digs a grave. It scratches the ground and on the approach of man flies off.
21. *taban ngirinching* .. taban is imperative mood of "ngaban" to take. "Ngirinching" means to hover. It is a bad sign, for when a hawk hovers it sees, I suppose, a prey. Chickens are few in Dayak kampongs.
22. *taha rarong* .. a frog with minute red spots. "Rarong" is coffin, but Dayaks have not got them. It has two distinct croaks and is one animal under two different names. "muat sapui". "Muat" is a very bad spirit that entices men into the jungle. When a frog croaks under the house, all Dayaks are mortally afraid. If near and in the evening it croaks on 2 or 3 consecutive nights someone in the house is sure to die.
23. *jahang* "a carcass". It is unpleasant to come upon a carcass anywhere, but why it should forebode any evil, I don't know.
24. *nyipeh* the generic name for snakes.
25. *manak* why should he ask to be delivered from all these things for the two of them: Tampa and himself? It is true, he is the representative of the house, and all are included. It is

also true that if any of the headmen meet with something bad or has a bad dream, it is more serious than when a child or ordinary person experiences the same. There is often a one day's "pantang" for the whole house after a bad dream of the "orang kaya". Another person will "pantang" for himself. I remember that 6 or 7 years ago at Tebekang there was a private "pantang" of 4 nights after one bad dream. The custom of "pantang" differs in different villages.

26. *Pideh* It is said to be the name of a river in Netherlands India Territory and with the following three names of old sites.
27. *Jukat rabat* Day of death. When a Dayak dies the whole house has one day "pantang". It does not matter what they are working at, all must rest. Often they have a poor burning or bad harvest on account of frequent "pantangs". When a corpse is in the house overnight two days "pantang" must be observed. For babies and children only one day. The persons of the room where death took place always have 4 days "pantang".
28. *pisuh* is the noun of the verb "misuh", which is "maki".
29. *boh* has no meaning. It is often used after an imperative to soften the order. Also for children. "oboh" means "all"; "whole"; "oboh oboh" means "everyone".
30. *saku ntau* "saku" on right side; this is a favourable sign.
31. *Nabau* the great spirit of water.
32. *guna* a noun. It means collectively all the things, bamboos, rattan, hoops, etc. used at a gawai. It is kept hanging in the "panchar".

33. *undan* is a pig slaughtered at a gawai. It is sometimes done inside a room. A sharp piece of bamboo is used, forbidden to use a knife. The pig is tied with its legs together and the bamboo is pushed in at the foreleg. Women, "barih dayung", do it or nominally so andt hey are however always present. Blood is received in a "mankuk".
34. *buai, etc.* crocodile and six names of fishes.
35. *pitingi* not patingi. Sibandar has an Indian taste.
36. *Kalaka, Kamaio, Sibangan.* Names of rivers.
37. *Rom yang pituan* .. I was told it was the name of an extraordinarily strong man. When and where he lived is a mystery. It is interesting that Raffles in his 'History of Java' mentions a Prince of Rom, who sent 20,000 families, to Java, who all perished except 20 families, who returned to Rom (II. x. p. 73).
38. *bumbung binua* .. Names of old Dayaks, short genealogies of 25 kampongs. One only does not exist anymore: Mpang, on the Kedup.
39. *galang binari* .. "galang" is a silver armband. "binari" unknown to me.
40. *nuko* is the verb: "toko" is the hat itself, as in 12.
41. *soun* "What I get"—two syllables. When Dayaks have been out fishing, hunting, gathering juggle-produce, the other Dayaks on their return ask: "adde soun kendehe?" did you get anything?
42. *perabuh* "to be provided". explained No. 15 in the former prayer.
43. *Sirapi* Names of mountains and hills. Position of Sirubu unknown; the others mostly in the country between the Kayan Sadong and its tributary the Kedup.

44. *kitukit kitida* .. I did not succeed in obtaining an explanation of this, but all end with this.
45. *ngidah* "naughty",^{*} said of children who are very much loved. "Pimari" is "mali".
 "Pantangs" are necessary to appease the spirits ; they are always preceded by a "gawai" which is pleasant, but they are troublesome too, especially the unforeseen ones. It looks as if they say to Tampa : " see what we are doing which costs us quite a lot of difficulty, therefore help us ! "

RICE PLANTING CUSTOMS IN THE BARAM DISTRICT, SARAWAK

By E. BANKS

The following customs were made known by Native Officers and Upriver Agents at the direction of Mr. F. H. Pollard, to whom my best thanks are due and deal chiefly but not entirely with the prohibitions in relation to rice planting.

In common with many other pagan tribes it is the custom of the people of the Baram to declare periods during which they go into retreat, retiring to their houses, doing no work on their farms, neither receiving strangers in their homes nor going visiting on their own account. The occasion of these lali or pantangs is usually at the clearing of the farms, the planting and reaping of their crops, when various good omens are invoked and a forfeit levied on any stranger who, entering the house during this period of retreat, causes a breach of custom unsatisfactory to the spirits the people wish to propitiate on behalf of their crops.

Probably less is known of pantang customs than of any other Bornean customs for they often last a month at a time and few would care to immure themselves so long absolutely cut off from the outside world. To the inhabitants themselves there is nothing very strange about it and they conspicuously fail to provide very interesting accounts of what actually happens. The more polite among Kayans will intimate that if Government is not coming up river in the next few weeks they would like to go pantang but are quite obliging about moving the opening date, though they not unnaturally dislike making any exception once they have started. Inevitably pantangs associated with the reaping of the crops in the spring have become to some extent connected with fertility rites and this is still so but in a modified form, for I have found no signs of what Hose refers to as occasional "quarter of an hours utmost licence" nor do there seem any longer to occur those somewhat promiscuous orgies for the prevention of inbreeding described by Brooke Low (Sarawak Gazette 1st Nov. 1882). Nevertheless the pantang can still be a cheery affair and is always the occasion for a certain amount of borak consumption and general hilarity, when men perform the tasks usually done by women and *vice versa*. In spite of this pantomimic atmosphere the pantang is a very serious affair and ones old and trusted friends cannot oblige at all in the usual way; I well remember an urgent call on a Kayan house during a Pantang Pakan when a man I knew very well as a trusty warrior would no more than crouch on the bank yards away, his face covered in his hands, to receive my message to which even then he could make no reply. On another occasion I arrived just as a Pantang Pakan concluded and everyone was in excellent form; I was first approached by a party of wild, long haired, scantily clad nomad Punans who lisped their desire

for tobacco and other things which nearly took me in, until I realized it was only a few Kayans masquerading as part of the pantang's celebrations. Another grotesquely dressed individual was making the girls laugh with a large attenuated gourd and a cucumber which he has suspended from his waist in front and was apparently personata grata until someone recognized him and called his name, when he was forced to take off his disguise and pay the usual forfeit.

These pantangs are therefore in the nature of spring, harvest or other festivals, sometimes serious, sometimes cheery and doubtless sometimes slightly erotic. They are mainly for the purpose of propitiating evil spirits or invoking the aid of the good ones in connection with farming, births, deaths and matters of everyday life and in so far as they provide occasional relaxations and opportunities for social intercourse, they cannot be considered altogether deleterious customs. Not unnaturally all natives desire that these occasions shall not be broken into by the entrance of strangers, from whom they exact a forfeit, usually to go some way in replacing the pigs and fowls sacrificed to the good spirits at the commencement of the pantang ; in connection with farming it is usual to demand a parang or knife, such as used in clearing the farm though it should be understood that on this occasion it is the metal that is the thing and almost any old and probably useless rusty bit of iron will do, a usable weapon not necessarily though sometimes being required. Kayans are far and away the most fanatical about their pantangs, the forfeit is nothing to them and they would far rather the period remained unbroken than receive gifts in payment, Kenyahs being very much more philosophical in this respect for as they often live far up-river they have the more consideration for chance-bound strangers.

The Kayan is in fact so persistent that as I have said he will announce before hand the proposed date of commencement of his pantang and even alter it if it is likely to be broken, but once having started he is extremely loth to admit anyone, be he from Government or otherwise, frequently creating friction.

The Kayans are therefore distinctly fussy about their pantangs, Kenyahs much more matter of fact, the former exacting a forfeit from the first stranger to enter the house after the period of retreat is over, a custom unknown to the Kenyah. Both however have very definite clear cut arrangements for times and forfeits, in direct contrast to the Kalamantan people who are comparatively very vague about the order of their pantangs, as often as not when asked, they politely make them up as they go along from what they can remember of other peoples ; in fact they are particularly vague about farming pantangs but can offer a fair series of comparatively small and unimportant customs relating to the misdeeds of the dog or the man who washes his mosquito net at the landing place, relics perhaps of their old Indonesian

customs in force before the invasion of the rice-eating Kayans and Kenyahs. Enquiry among Kalamantans in relation to custom can be very misleading for a stranger intermarried in the house will when asked give the customs of his own tribe as those of the people among whom he is now living, old ladies being particularly difficult in this respect and the customs recorded cannot for this reason be always regarded as absolutely accurate. As far as the political value of the pantang is concerned it will be seen for example the Kayan Uma Poh spend 117 days in retreat on account of their rice farming, not counting the time spent pantang over births, deaths and other things.

Kenyahs are rather more modest and although these customs have undoubtedly social values, few would deny far too much time is taken up with them. Those pantangs after the crop is harvested, dealing with its storing in the rice barns and general celebrations are not harmful but it is almost incredible that whether they have plenty of food in store or are almost starving, both Kayans and Kenyahs as the rice is just ripening, solemnly retire and shut themselves up in their houses for ten days or so, not visiting their farms during this time when the ravages of pigs, deer, rats and birds are at their worst and only turning out to take what is left of the crop after the pantang is over. Even then in good years they get more than they can eat but in bad years they are very hard up, scarcely surprising when one can actually see and hear from the verandah of the Kayan house, the Deer eating up their crops. Many Kalamantans are slightly more sensible, only returning to the house at night and tending their crops during the day, and morning and evening, nor do I wish to paint the Kayan and Kenyah picture too bad, for they do sometimes permit their old women, probably of no more value, to imperil their souls by watching the crops instead of immuring themselves in their houses. Kayan men of sense will admit the absurdity of these customs in hard times and left to themselves would modify them accordingly but the Kayan women are hide-bound conservatives, almost impossible to converse with since they rarely speak much Malay and the impression one makes on the men folk by day is rapidly erased at night.

It is apparently customary among Kayans to plant a quick growing rice—padi agit—and a slower growing rice—padi tenggan—at the same time, followed by a pantang melah parei, an invocation to make good rice, followed then by a four day pantang before reaping the ripe padi agit, another ten-day pantang pakan for invocations, another ten-day pantang before reaping the ripe padi tenggan,—they therefore spend some three weeks or a month whilst their rice is ripening or waiting to be reaped and it is a matter of astonishment they get as much to eat as they do. The Kenyah is more sensible, has long pantangs before clearing the farm and a short three or four day pantang when his crop is ready, whereby he is usually less hard up than his Kayan neighbour.

The custom of a few days grace before and after the harvest is not unknown in other countries, the nearest parallel being among the Sema Nagas of Assam (J. H. Hutton *The Sema Nagas*, Mac-Millan and Co. 1921 p.p. 221-224) where the lali of the Bornean corresponds to the genna of the Sema Naga.

A closer comparison is of considerable interest for the Asuyekhiphe genna of the Sema, lasting one day and marking the beginning of clearing the new farms corresponds roughly with the Kayan Pantang Nyihow and Kenyah Pantang Palup, lasting anything from 10 days to a month; similarly the Sema Kichimiya genna for one day after burning, in honour of the spirit of that name, corresponds with the Kayan Pantang Nyihow kutap and Kenyah Palup, when good omens are sought and propitiated for from ten to fifteen days. Kayans and Kenyahs would seem to have no counterpart to Sema Luwunyi and Visavela gennas, each lasting a day and held respectively at the end of clearing and after burning the farms. The consecutive Sema gennas Miti, Muzah and Apitekhu lasting one day each before sewing the rice seed correspond to the various Pantang Tugal, lasting anything from ten to thirty days. From then on the comparison is less easy, Sema gennas Auhukiti and Alcuhi of one day each before successive weeding corresponding perhaps to the weeding pantangs Mewah or Melah; from then on the Semas have gennas Anyi for 5 days when the ear begins to form, Lakehokhu, Aklapte Kumpta as the ear breaks the sheath, Saghu Akhu and Saghu Adu which may or not be found to have Bornean counterparts as more is found out. Sema Apikhimite for one day is the ten day Kenyah pantang Majau for harvesting and Awonakuchu the Kayan Nyihow Luno or Kenyah Libun lasting ten days when the harvest is brought home to the padi barns. It will be seen Naga genna and Bornean lali for padi farming are of a somewhat similar nature and order of precedence, though it must be admitted the Naga is the wiser in keeping them of short duration and one could wish the Borneans followed their example.

The following is a list of pantangs tribe by tribe, the Kayans and Kenyahs strict and uniform, the Kalamantans evasive and the Punans wandering. For the distribution of these tribes in the Baram River see the map accompanying the article on Teknonymy (Sarawak Museum Journal Vol. IV No. 15 1937 p. 399.).

KAYAN UMA PAKU.

Pantang Nyihow. Felling trees for the clearing of the farm.

Lasts twenty days during which any stranger who enters the house must pay a forfeit of one gong and a knife. The first stranger who enters the house after the twenty days are over forfeits a spear.

Pantang Nyihow Kutap. Taking Omens.

Lasts fourteen days during which a stranger entering the house forfeits a gong and a knife. The first stranger to enter after the twenty days forfeits a spear.

Pantang Menugal Padi. Sowing the rice seeds.

Lasts twelve days during which the stranger who enters must replace the pigs and fowls sacrificed by the people of the house. After the twelve days are over the first stranger to enter forfeits a bead for every door of the long house.

Pantang Plah Parei. Invocation to make good rice.

Lasts eleven days, during which a stranger entering must forfeit two pigs, two fowls, eight hens eggs, eleven old beads and four knives. After the eleven days the first stranger who enters forfeits one bead per door.

Pantang Parei Agit. Reaping quick-growing rice.

Lasts four days, during which a stranger entering forfeits a knife, one old bead to the head of the house and one ordinary bead per door. The first stranger who enters after the four days are up forfeits one bead per door.

Pantang Pakan. Harvesting quick-growing rice.

Lasts ten days, after which the first stranger admitted forfeits one bead per door.

Pantang Parei Tengan. Harvesting slow-growing rice.

Lasts ten days, during which if a stranger enters he forfeits one old and one new bead per door. After the ten days the first stranger to enter does not forfeit.

Pantang Nyihow Luno. Moving new rice to padi barns.

Lasts sixteen days, after which the first stranger to enter forfeits one knife, together with one bead per door.

Pantang Tembuku. First pounding and husking of new rice.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering forfeits one old bead and one knife to each person in the house belonging to the aristocracy and one bead per door.

Pantang Napoh.

Lasts ten days. A stranger entering must replace any pigs, hens or eggs originally sacrificed by the people of the house. The first stranger entering after the ten days are over forfeits a knife.

Pantang Beranak. Child-birth.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering to forfeit two pigs, two fowls, four beads and the mother may not leave her room for ten days. After the ten days the first stranger to enter forfeits a bead if the child is a girl, a knife and a spear if it is a boy.

Pantang Mati. Death.

Remarriage not allowed for from two to three months after the coffin has been taken out of the house. A low-class man marrying within this time forfeits a small gong and an upper class man a large gong, to the relations of the deceased.

Pantang Rumah Bharu. New House.

Lasts eleven days, a stranger entering must build them a new house, the old one being abandoned. The first stranger to arrive after the eleven days forfeits a spear and a fish hook.

KAYAN UMA POH.

Pantang Nyihow.

Lasts eighteen days but does not count if anyone dies during that time. If a stranger enters he forfeits a large gong, a pig, a knife, a fowl and one bead of a kind known as Mata Tiong.

Pantang Nyihow Kutap.

Lasts thirteen days, a stranger entering forfeits a knife and a fowl to the owner of the clearing.

Pantang Tugal. Sowing.

Lasts ten days, a stranger on entering must replace the sacrificed pigs and fowls.

Pantang Padi.

Lasts ten days, a stranger on entering must forfeit a knife, a pig and such beads as the house may direct.

Pantang Ketam Padi Agit.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering to forfeit a pig, a knife and such beads as the house may direct.

Pantang Pakan.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering has to forfeit a pig, a knife and such beads as the house may direct.

Pantang Padi Tengan.

Lasts ten days, a stranger on entering to forfeit a pig, a knife and such beads as the house may direct.

Pantang Nyihow Luno.

Lasts eight days, a stranger on entering must forfeit a knife, a fowl and beads worth \$1.

Pantang Temuku.

Lasts ten days, a stranger on entering to forfeit a knife, a fowl and beads valued at \$1.

KAYAN UMA PEIAU.

Pantang Nyihow.

Lasts twenty days, a stranger entering forfeits a gong and a knife. The first stranger to enter after the twenty days forfeits a spear.

Pantang Nyihow Kutap.

Lasts fourteen days, a stranger on entering to forfeit a gong and a knife. The first to enter after the fourteen days pays a spear and a knife.

Pantang Menugal Padi.

Lasts twelve days, a stranger who enters must replace the sacrificed pigs and fowls. The first to enter after the twelve days forfeits one bead per door.

Pantang Plah Parei.

Lasts ten days, a stranger who enters forfeiting two pigs, two fowls, eight hens eggs, an old bead and a knife.

Pantang Parei Agit.

Lasts four days, a stranger who enters forfeiting a knife and an old bead for the house as a whole and one new bead per door. After the four days the first stranger forfeits one bead per door.

Pantang Pakan.

Lasts ten days, the first stranger to enter after that time forfeiting one bead per door.

Pantang Parei Tengan.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering forfeits an old bead for the house and a new bead per door. There is no forfeit on the first stranger to enter after the ten days.

Pantang Nyihow Luno.

Lasts sixteen days, the first stranger to enter after that forfeiting a chopping knife and one bead per door.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

Lasts twenty days whilst the witch-doctors perform. A stranger entering is fined a large and a small gong, and a pig and a knife; the small gong goes to the head of the house, the large one to the chief of the tribe.

KAYAN UMA AKEH.

Pantang Nyihow. (Aman Uma).

Lasts a month, if a stranger enters the pantang is disbanded and he forfeits a gong, a pig, a knife and a fowl as pusang.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, anyone entering during this cannot go out for ten days.

Pantang Lamewa Padi Bharu.

Lasts four days, a stranger entering forfeits beads only.

Pantang Ketam Padi Agit.

Lasts six days, strangers may enter but the inmates may not go away for the night.

Pantang Ketam Padi Tengan.

Lasts nine days, on the tenth day a stranger entering forfeits a bead.

Pantang Lemaleh Awa. Birth of a bastard.

The mother must remove to some place away from the house and not re-enter without forfeiting one gong per door, a knife, a fowl and a pig.

If a wife finds herself pregnant whilst her husband is away working she may not leave her room till he returns. When he does he must kill a fowl and smear the door with its blood before other people may enter the room which they may do by forfeiting a spear and a knife.

Pantang Tembuku.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering to forfeit an old bead and a knife to each of the aristocracy and one new bead per door. The first stranger to enter after the ten days forfeits one bead per door.

Pantang Napoh.

Lasts ten days, a stranger who enters to replace the sacrificed pigs and fowls. After it is over, the first stranger to enter forfeits a knife.

Pantang Beranak.

Lasts ten days, a stranger who enters forfeits two pigs, a fowl, four beads, the mother to stay in her room ten days. The first stranger to enter after the ten days forfeits a knife and a spear if the child is a boy, a bead if it is a girl.

Pantang Mati.

Remarriage may not take place for two or three months after the coffin has been buried. If it does a low class man pays a gong and an upper class man a large gong to the relatives of the deceased.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

Lasts eleven days, a stranger who enters to replace the whole house, the old one being abandoned. The first to enter after the eleven days forfeits a spear and a fish hook.

Pantang Mending.

On news of sickness a ten day pantang is declared, for four days the inmates may not go down from the house and may not speak with strangers who if they enter forfeit a pig, a knife, a gong and a fowl.

The Uma Akeh are still essentially a tribe of Kayans but in former days they lived in the Patah River and came under a very prominent Kenyah Long Tikan chief named Tama Bulan. Inevitably they incorporated some of his customs and though still Kayans they do not conform to the strict Kayan adat accorded to other Kayan tribes.

KENYAH LEPPU TAU.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts a month, a stranger entering to forfeit three pigs, five fowls and a knife.

Pantang Mewa Padi.

Lasts four days, a stranger who enters forfeits two pigs, four fowls and a knife.

Pantang Padi.

Lasts three days, a stranger if he enters forfeits one pig, two fowls and a knife.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts four days, a stranger entering to forfeit a pig, two fowls and a knife.

Pantang Lunoh.

Lasts twelve days, a stranger on entering forfeits two fowls and a knife.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts six days, a stranger entering forfeits a pig, two fowls and a knife.

Pantang ?

Lasts six days, a stranger forfeiting two fowls if he enters.

Pantang Naik Rumah Bharu.

Lasts six days, a stranger entering forfeits six fowls, a knife, a spear and ten beads.

Pantang Beranak.

Lasts a month, a stranger being fined a knife if he enters.

KENYAH BADANG.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts a month, an intruder forfeiting three pigs, four fowls and a knife.

Pantang Tugal.

None.

Pantang ?

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit a pig, four fowls and a knife.

Pantang Padi.

Lasts three days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, three fowls and a knife.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit one pig, ten fowls and a knife.

Pantang Ngalunoh.

Lasts six days, an intruder forfeits two fowls and a knife.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts six days, an intruder forfeits two fowls and a knife.

Pantang ?

Lasts six days, an intruder to forfeit two fowls.

Pantang ?

Fires may not be lit underneath the rice barns, a transgressor forfeiting two pigs, four fowls and a knife.

Pantang Anak Ketam.

Lasts a month, an intruder to forfeit a knife.

Pantang Naik Rumah Bharu.

Lasts eight days, an intruder forfeiting two pigs, six fowls and ten beads.

KENYAH LEPPU ABONG.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts seven days, an intruder to forfeit three fowls and a knife, with beads.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit three pigs, a knife, beads and a fowl.

Pantang Sali.

Lasts three days, an intruder forfeiting a pig and beads.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit as for pantang sali.

Pantang Ketam.

Lasts fourteen days, an intruder forfeiting a pig and four fowls per door.

Pantang Sulap Padi.

Lasts six days, an intruder to forfeit a pig, a knife and beads.

Pantang Mreng.

Lasts six days, an intruder forfeiting a pig per door and seven knives.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

Lasts eight days, an intruder to forfeit a spear and a fowl.

Pantang di-rumah.

Lasts six days, an intruder to forfeit a pig, a knife and beads.

KENYAH LEPPU LAANG.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting six fowls and a knife.

Pantang ?

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting a fowl per door and a knife.

Pantang Nugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit four fowls and a bead.

Pantang Mewa.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit four pigs, four fowls, one knife and a bead.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts four days, an intruder in entering to pay two pigs, one knife and one bead.

Pantang Majau Padi Lasat.

Lasts six days, an intruder to pay two fowls and a bead.

Pantang Padi ?

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit a fowl, together with a bead per door.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts six days, an intruder to pay two fowls and a bead.

Pantang Naik Rumah Bharu.

Lasts six days, an intruder to forfeit two pigs, four fowls and a knife.

Pantang Beranak.

Lasts three days, an intruder to forfeit a gong, a knife and two fowls.

KENYAH LEPPU GAH.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit a pig, a fowl, a knife and a bead per door.

Pantang Palup?

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting as for Pantang Palup.

Pantang Plaki.

Lasts three days, an intruder to forfeit two fowls, one knife and one bead.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit two pigs, ten fowls, one knife and one bead.

Pantang Mewa.

Lasts four days, an intruder to replace the two pigs and ten hens sacrificed and forfeit a knife and a bead.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, a fowl, a bead and a knife.

Pantang Lunoh.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit two fowls, one knife and a bead.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting six fowls, a knife and a bead.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, a knife and a bead.

Pantang Beranak.

For three months after birth intruders forfeit a knife.

KENYAH LEPPU SAWA.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts one month, an intruder to forfeit five pigs, five fowls and a knife.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting a white bead per door and a knife to whoever is in charge.

Pantang Mewa Padi.

Lasts four days, a stranger who enters replaces three pigs and six fowls sacrificed, forfeiting a knife as well as a bead per door.

Pantang Merumput Padi.

Lasts six days, an intruder forfeiting four fowls and a bead per door.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts four days, an intruder paying five fowls, one knife and a bead per door.

Pantang Ngalunoh.

Lasts six days, an intruder forfeiting five fowls and a knife.

Pantang Yang Bisar.

Lasts six days, an intruder to replace all sacrificed pigs and fowls.

Pantang Mengambil Padi Dalam Durong.

Lasts six days, an intruder to replace all pigs and fowls sacrificed.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

Lasts six days, a stranger on entering forfeits three pigs, six fowls, a knife and a bead per door. After the six days, the first stranger to enter forfeits a spear and ten beads.

Pantang Beranak.

The first stranger to enter forfeits a knife but if the mother is of lower class the pantang is for the room only.

KENYAH UMA PAWA.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts a month, a stranger on entering forfeits a pig and two fowls.

Pantang Nebang.

Lasts three days, an intruder forfeiting a fowl.

Pantang Nugal.

Lasts a month, an intruder to pay a pig and a fowl per door and three pigs and four fowls to the person in charge.

Pantang Mewa.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit a pig, a fowl, a knife and a bead.

Pantang Muang. Weeding.

Lasts three days, an intruder to forfeit two fowls and a bead.

Pantang Lumbida.

Lasts seven days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, a fowl, a knife and a bead.

Pantang Majau.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit a pig and a fowl, with a bead per door.

Pantang Lapubong.

Lasts seven days, an intruder to forfeit a fowl per door.

Pantang Beranak.

Lasts eight days, an intruder to forfeit a knife and a fowl.

Pantang Naik Rumah Bharu.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit three pigs and ten fowls.

Pantang Turun Ka-Tana.

Lasts three days, an intruder to forfeit four hens and a knife.

KENYAH LEPPU ANAN.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit a pig, a fowl and to give one bead per door.

Pantang Lengai. Sowing.

Lasts three days. They then seem to have another ten days pantang after the sowing of the seed and after that three days pantang obat padi.

Pantang Ketam Padi Lasat.

Lasts six days, ten days if the farm is very large.

Pantang Makan Padi Dalam Durong.

Lasts sixteen days, an intruder to forfeit two pigs, two fowls and give a bead per door.

Pantang Beranak.

On the fourth day the child is named and the mother may not go to another person's place ; if any stranger enters he must forfeit to the mother, failing which they just take whatever he happens to have with him.

If anyone swears and is not believed, on entering the house he must forfeit a gong and a pig to the upper class and a knife to each of the lower class, failing which the house is abandoned.

If a wife dies and the husband wants to marry again he must give his first wife's relations a gong. Widows and widowers may not remarry for a year.

On the birth of a bastard, husband unknown, the woman must go to some other place ; if she enters the house she forfeits a gong to each of the upper class and a knife to each of the lower class. If the father is discovered he must be responsible for these forfeits.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

If a stranger enters a new house he must forfeit a fowl and a spear, with a bead per door.

Pantang Tebasan.

If a man enters someone else's clearing with a knife and fire he forfeits a pig and a knife for fear the padi will die.

Pantang Angai.

Anyone going to work or answering a call must return if the omens are bad and wait until they are good.

Pantang Padi Bunting.

Lasts three days, an intruder to forfeit two fowls, a knife and a bead per door.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts three days, a stranger entering forfeits a pig, a fowl and a bead per door.

KENYAH LONG BELUKUN.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit a fowl and a bead per door, with a knife for the house in general.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts twenty days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, a fowl per door, a knife and a bead per door.

Pantang Luang.

Lasts three days, an intruder forfeiting two fowls and some beads.

Pantang Majau.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to pay a fowl and beads per door.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts ten days, an intruder paying a fowl per door and beads.

Pantang Plaki Ong.

Lasts four days, a stranger entering pays two pigs and six fowls.

Pantang Anak Ketam.

Lasts three months, an intruder paying a knife.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

Lasts four days, an intruder paying a pig per door and a spear.

KENYAH LONG JULAN.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts twenty days, and is abandoned on intrusion.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, five fowls, a knife and beads.

Pantang Mewa Parei.

Lasts four days, an intruder to pay two pigs and six fowls.

Pantang Majau Parei Agit.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit beads per door.

Pantang Majau Parei Bura.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting five fowls and giving a bead per door.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts ten days, and is abandoned on intrusion.

Pantang Naik Rumah Bharu.

Lasts four days, no intrusion on any account.

KENYAH LONG TIKAN.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts twenty five days but is abandoned if anyone intrudes.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting a pig, five fowls, a knife and one bead.

Pantang Plah Parei.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit two pigs and six fowls.

Pantang Majau Padi Agit.

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting beads per door.

Pantang Majau Padi Bura.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit five fowls and a bead per door.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts ten days and is abandoned if anyone intrudes.

Pantang Naik Rumah Bharu.

Lasts ten days and intrusion absolutely forbidden on any account.

KENYAH LONG AKAH.

Pantang Beranak.

The mother must stay in the room thirty days, a stranger entering the house to forfeit three knives and a spear.

Pantang Belian.

The mother may not give birth in the house and must use some other place, on her return forfeiting a knife.

Pantang Palup.

Lasts twenty days, any stranger entering to forfeit three fowls.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts twenty five days, a stranger entering to forfeit beads per door.

Pantang Mewa Padi.

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting two pigs and ten fowls.

Pantang Majau.

Lasts ten days, a stranger entering forfeits beads per door.

Pantang Libun.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit as for pantang majau.

Pantang Mewa Hivang.

Lasts three days, a stranger entering go forfeit a knife and a fowl.

KALAMANTAN MURIK.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to forfeit a knife, a fowl and a new bead.

Pantang Ketam.

Lasts ten days, an intruder forfeiting a knife and a fowl.

Pantang Makan Padi Dalam Durong.

Lasts six days, an intruder to forfeit a fowl and a knife.

Pantang Buat Burak Anak.

Lasts six days, an intruder to forfeit two knives and a spear if of the upperclass, nothing if of the lower class.

Pantang Mreng.

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting a gong, a knife and a pig.

Widowers of the upper class are pantang for one year after the wife's death and if marrying within that time both he and the new wife must give a large gong each to the relatives of the late wife.

KALAMANTAN LONG WATT

Pantang Beranak.

After birth the mother may not mix with the people of the house as a whole for three months, after which she must forfeit a fowl and a knife to the house.

For the birth of a bastard the mother may not mix with the people of the house as a whole and must make some other place for herself. When the child is older she may return but forfeit a gong and a knife to the house as a whole.

If a man is ill to the point of being unable to rise, there is a four day pantang, anyone entering to forfeit a gong, a knife and a fowl to the house as a whole.

Pantang Bikin Tapu.

Lasts four days, an intruder to give a knife and a fowl to the person who is bikin tapu.

Pantang Dayong.

Swing invocation by a witch doctor, there is a pantang for three days and anyone entering the room where he is performing forfeits whatever he may ask.

Pantang Tebas.

Lasts ten days, an intruder entering the house to forfeit a knife and a fowl to the house as a whole.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts ten days, an intruder to pay a knife, a fowl and a pig to the house as a whole.

Pantang Padi Sudah Idup.

Lasts four days, an intruder paying a knife, a fowl and one bead.

Pantang Ketam.

Lasts eight days, forfeits as in Pantang Tugal.

Pantang Surong.

Lasts eight days, forfeits as for pantangs tugal and ketam.

Pantang Luang. (Padi bagus buah).

Lasts three days, forfeits as in Tugal, Ketam and Surong.

Pantang Beranak.

A stranger on entering forfeits a new knife.

Pantang Bikin Borak.

Lasts six days, an intruder giving a knife to the breweress.

KALAMANTAN SIBOP LONG POKUN.

Pantang Beranak.

The mother may not go back to the long house for three months, after which she must give the head of the house a fowl and a knife, if there are two heads, she must give to both.

Pantang ?

If a woman is enceinte and the father unknown, the woman must go somewhere else and not stay in the house.

Pantang Mati Beranak.

Lasts three months, during which the people in the house may not go out. After three months the widower forfeits to all the people in the house a pig and a knife and only re-enters the house after this is paid.

KALAMANTAN LELAK.

A widow must go into mourning for one month and if she desires to remarry, forfeits one roll of white cloth, a knife and a fowl to the widowers relatives.

If a wife is unfaithful they both give a tray, a fowl and a knife to the injured husband.

If a man interferes with someone else's clearing or farm he forfeits a knife and a fowl to the owner.

If a man fells a tree across a stream he forfeits a gong, a knife and a pig to the village.

Any form of incest, sister, cousin in-laws, forfeits a gong, a knife and a pig to the village.

If after a birth a stranger enters the room within two days he forfeits a knife and a fowl.

Sexual intercourse near anyone pregnant implies a forfeit of one stewpan, a knife and a fowl to the pregnant one.

Swearing in quarrelling means a forfeit of one tray, a knife and a fowl to the person sworn at.

Washing a mosquito net at the landing place means a fine of a tray, a knife and a fowl to the village.

Selling or trimming a coconut palm means a forfeit of a knife and a fowl to the owner.

On a man taking two wives he and the second wife must give the first one a gong, a knife and a fowl.

Husband and wife quarrelling to the extent of one throwing away the other's goods, such as mat and pillow, the offender must forfeit to the other a gong, a knife and a fowl.

If a woman is pregnant and cannot produce a husband she must live in a hut outside and not mix with the people of the house. After the birth she may return to the house but forfeit a gong a knife and a pig to the village.

Before felling the jungle on a farm there is an eight days pantang, anyone intruding to forfeit a gong, a knife and a fowl.

Pantang Tugal.

Lasts two days, an intruder forfeiting a knife and a fowl to the owners of the clearing.

Pantang Ketam.

Lasts four days, an intruder forfeiting a knife and a fowl to the owners of the farm.

Ngulit Orang mati.

Lasts two days, an intruder forfeiting a gong, a knife and a fowl to the relations.

Pantang Plaki.

Lasts two days, an intruder to pay a knife and a fowl to the makers of the pantang.

KALAMANTAN BATU BLAH.

Pantang Tebas and Tugal.

Last four days each, an intruder to forfeit a pig, a knife, a stewpan and some beads.

Widows and widowers may not plant before other people and must wait until they have finished and left, on pain of forfeiting a pig, a gong, a knife and beads.

Pantang Ketam.

Lasts only half a day, an intruder forfeiting a gong, a large pig (four hand-spreads round the waist) a knife and a stewpan.

Pantang Rumah Bharu.

The meat of the Mouse Deer and the Barking Deer, the shoots of bamboo and rice mortars may not be brought into the house at first, whoever does so forfeiting a pig, a knife and a stewpan.

Pantang Angai.

Lasts four days for the Brahming Kite and Woodpecker, during which nobody may live in the house or go on a journey on pain of forfeiting one large pig (six spans round the waist) a smaller pig, a knife and a stewpan.

During mourning these is a month's pantang when nobody may shout or beat a gong on pain of giving the gong to the relatives of the deceased. They may not sing, play the pipes or the stringed instruments on pain of one large pig of four spans, a knife and a roll of white cloth.

Pendam Orang Mati lama.

Anyone searching for omens on the grave forfeits a gong, a pig and a large knife.

A woman pregnant but without a husband forfeits a gong, a pig, a knife and a stewpan and may not live in the house but must make a little hut outside.

Widows and widowers remarrying must pay a gong of eight catties to deceased's relatives.

Quarrels mean a forfeit of a pig, a knife, a gong and a stewpan.

Pantang Beranak Laki.

Lasts eight days, an intruder to forfeit a fowl and a good bead. If the men go to war the women are pantang and any who do not behave forfeit a pig and a gong to the men.

If anyone passes whilst the farm is being burnt he forfeits a fowl, a knife and a stewpan—if the burn is incomplete he pays money to the owners. A knife and a shield are given as a sign of betrothal and if the woman accepts, a gong, a jar and a knife must follow; if the woman seeks the man in his room, whatever he gives her does not count as part of the marriage price until the marriage is over. If the woman divorces the man, these goods go to him. On the man divorcing the woman, the betrothal gift and marriage price are lost.

Dogs may not go up in the loft on pain of death. Pigs from another house may be killed without need of replacement if they come under the house.

Widows and widowers may not marry whilst the coffin is unburied on pain of forfeiting a gong, a big pig of six spans, a knife and a stewpan.

KALAMANTAN ORANG BUKIT.

Mourning lasts forty days during which anyone beating gongs or shouting forfeits a gong of five catties and a fowl to the mourners.

A dog which goes up to the loft must be killed or the owner may forfeit a gong weighing five catties and a fowl.

If a man is ill and under treatment no one may enter the house with a knife or any tin on pain of paying a gong weighing five catties and a fowl, to the sick man.

Boats kept under the house must be kept turned bottom-up on pain of forfeiting a silver ring or armlet.

Similar fine for anyone lighting a fire under the house during a pantang.

Nobody may throw away a mat from a new house, the fine being as above with one fowl and two yards of white cloth to each door.

Widows and widowers fined \$31 for sexual intercourse within forty days of partner's death, this to Government and such to give a gong to the relatives of the deceased.

Pantang Ketam.

One day, forfeit for intrusion a silver bangle.

For feeling a woman's breast a gong is given to the husband.

Giving a cigarette to another person's husband or wife merits a forfeit of \$15 each, but not if it is given before the people of the house.

PUNAN TUTOH (LINAI).

When in mourning nobody may pass the landing place shouting or beating gongs on pain of a forfeit of a good knife, a blow pipe, a fowl and a stewpan. Rubber trees may not be tapped during mourning.

Widows and widowers may not remarry for a month, forfeiting if they do one roll of white cloth, one good knife, a stewpan and a fowl to the deceased's relations.

Anyone wishing to open a grave may not first come up into the house and must make his arrangements below. He may come up to the house on payment of a small knife, failing which he forfeits a knife and a fowl.

An old house may not be pulled down, anyone so doing without warning the owner forfeits a fowl.

Pantang Tapoh.

Lasts four days, inmates of the house may not go out anywhere: if they do or any one intrudes he forfeits one knife, one blow pipe and a fowl.

Husbands and wives may not cut other peoples hair or have their own cut by other peoples—if they do they forfeit one roll of white cloth, a knife, a fowl and a stewpan. A corpse may be borne past the landing place but the boat may not stop there on pain of forfeiting a roll of white cloth, a knife, a blow-pipe, a fowl and a stewpan. If the boat passes by on the other side it forfeits only a knife and a fowl.

A dog which has been up to the loft must be killed.

A quarrel forfeits a knife, a fowl and a stewpan to the people of the house.

PUNAN BOK.

Pantang Tugal and Ketam.

Lasts two days, an intruder to forfeit a fowl and a spear.

On betrothal a man must give a knife. If he is unfaithful he loses this and must pay the woman a gong; if she is unfaithful the man's presents are returned and she pays a gong as well.

Widows and widowers who remarry before the disposal of the bones of the deceased must pay to its relations a roll of white cloth, a fowl and a knife.

If a woman's husband had been dead less than a month and she has intercourse with a man she forfeits to the deceased's relations two rolls of white cloth, a knife and a fowl.

After a new house is built no intruder may enter on pain of forfeiting a gong, a fowl and a knife.

Mering Rumah.

Lasts four days, an intruder to forfeit a knife, a fowl and a good bead.

There is no pantang after a death in the house, one day's pantang after removing the coffin, no forfeit on passing the house with a coffin but a forfeit of a knife if they enter the house whilst doing so.

THE KĒRIS SULOK OR SUNDANG

By E. BANKS.

(Plates XVII—XVIII)

Though custom dies hard in Borneo there has been an inevitable decline in the knowledge relating to the lore of the more ornate swords and daggers once used for warfare, in favour of the more prosaic objects now used for agriculture and general purposes. For example most Sea Dayaks still have tucked away one or more of the ancient swords known as Niabor and Langgai Tinggang, weapons of the old head-hunting and piracy days now no longer used or made any more, the present generation being content with a more generalized cutlass-like tool known as Duku, or failing that a copy of the straight edged Kayan blade known as Ilang. His grandfather's old weapons though still revered are relegated to the flint-lock period, as tradition becomes obscured with time. Even the Kayan and Kenyah nowadays concentrates on the carving of the hilt and the decoration of the sheath rather than on the beautification of the actual sword blades. The old system of fretwork and brass inlay or Usong has been steadily passing away in favour of a plain blade known as Malat, until even the names of the patterns of former days are known now to but few of the elders and the present generation have no occasion to distinguish Usong Bila from Usong Ilang or Usong Idoh.

Something of the same sort of thing is true of the weapons once used by Bornean Malays who seemed to have borrowed but little the short stabbing keris so popular elsewhere, preferring the longer broadsword which they called here Sulok, apparently known in Malay as Sundang. This weapon is therefore more characteristically Bornean than the short stabbing keris and was certainly made in Brunei for a time, a few Malays still remembering much of the lore relating to this type of weapon when they frankly admit an ignorance which is palpable as soon as they begin discussing the shorter type of weapon.

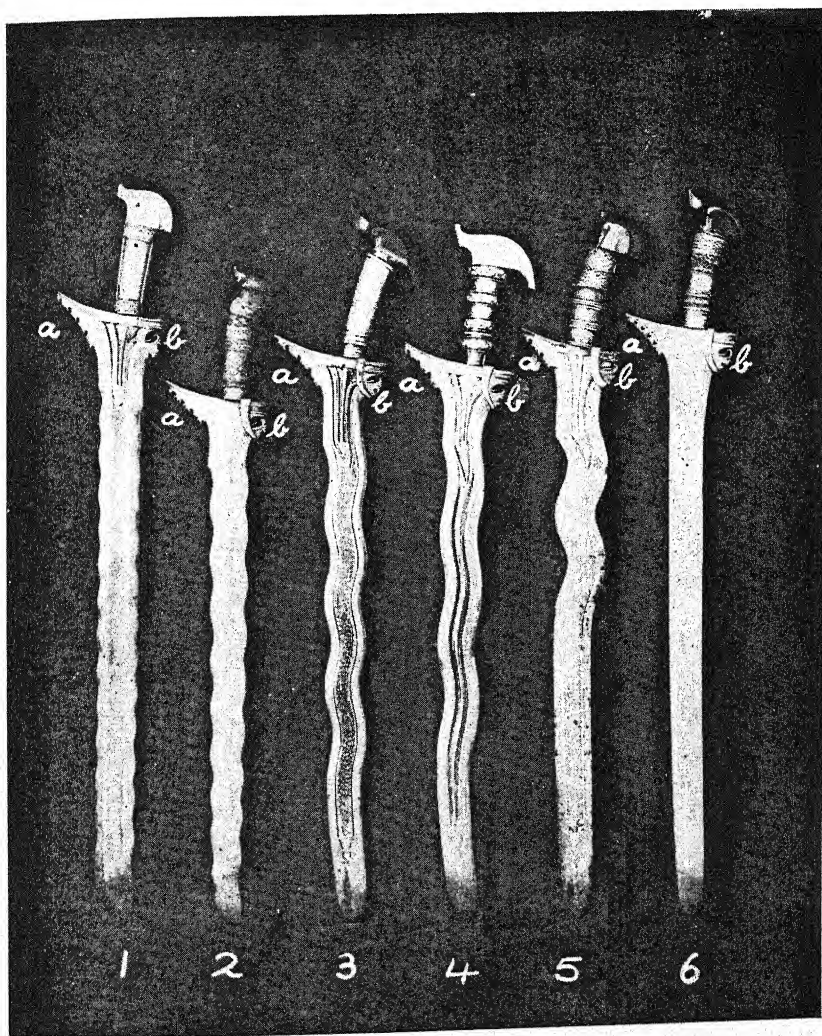
The Sulok has a blade about 18 inches long, either flat, elliptical in section or grooved on both sides, the point comparatively rounded, both edges sharp and either straight or with a varying number of waves. The Ganja and Janggut resemble those of the stabbing weapon but of course on a larger scale: there is occasionally some kind of inlay below the Ganja—the Kambing kachong—and the hilt is of wood or ivory, the grip ornamented with gold or silver wrapping and actually rather small for a European hand. The grip is often set at a slightly downwards angle to the blade (Janggut upwards) and the end of the grip is rounded with a recurved downwardly projecting prong to prevent the hand slipping. The weapon is in fact a slashing, cutting instrument, capable of a forehand and a backhand stroke or even for stabbing, altogether a most efficient tool for warfare.

So far as I have ascertained the different kinds of Sulok are named according to the number of waves on both sides of the blade, anything over twenty being known as Andus, from seven to twenty as Rantai, seven—the commonest—as Jenoya, five as Apit Liang and three as Belinkong, a straight blade without any waves at all as Rajah Laut.

To pass from fact—more or less—to theory, the Sulok is of considerable interest in the study of Malaysian weapons, being almost the only cutting instrument with both sides sharpened, a war-like feature superfluous in an agricultural weapon. In Borneo the only other double edged sword was a very old and now very scarce Kenyah weapon known as Bayu, resembling the straight Keris Sulok of the Rajah Laut variety, grooved on both surfaces and with a typical Deer's horn hilt. The considerable similarity between Bayu and Sulok is the more emphasised by transitional stages from the double edged Bayu to the single edged Ilang, the variety known as Usong But—also very rare—resembling such an intermediate step in that the distant half of the back of the blade is just as sharp as the front edge.

The possibility of the peculiar Kayan and Kenyah straight, hollow ground, single edged swords being derived from a Keris Sulok Rajah Laut, with the double bladed Kenyah Bayu and the Usong but as transitional stages seems worth considering. The downward, recurved prong of the Sulok hilt seems only repeated in Malayan weapons in the very similar hilt of the Sulu Barong or Pidah, most Bornean weapons—Latok, Buko, Parapat, Chandong, Tenggak, Klewang—rely simply on a posterior enlargement of the hilt to prevent the slipping of the hand on the grip, only Kayan, Kenyah and the old types of the Sea Dayak swords having the downward recurved prong on the same system as the Sulok.

The peculiar fretwork on the back of the blade of the Kayan and Kenyah swords has always attracted attention and in consideration of the contact between these people and traders from the neighbouring State of Brunei, there is at least a superficial resemblance between the enlarged and exaggerated Janggut of the Sulok with its fretwork pattern and the patterns on the backs of the old Kayan and Kenyah blades, for with the adoption of a cutting weapon the necessity ceases for the supposed hand guard of a stabbing weapon and the Janggut of the Keris Sulok has so to speak been carried down on to the back of the blade in the cutting weapon. With regard to the Lambai and Beladai Gajah on the underside of the Keris Sulok near the hilt, it is in this very situation that a sort of finger guard was almost universal in old Kayan and Kenyah blades, as well as in some old types of Sea Dayak weapons. Save in the Niabor of the latter people these finger guards never attained any great dimensions or importance, presenting merely a slight additional fretwork of no useful significance.



Banks: Keris Sulok or Sundang.

There is every probability that the Keris Sulok or Sundang was a more favoured weapon than the shorter stabbing Keris on the coast of Borneo. It was a double edged grooved weapon with large Janggut, Lambai and Beladai Gajah, the hilt with a characteristic recurved prong to prevent the grip slipping. From this type of broad-sword may have been derived swords such as are now only represented by the Kenyah Bayu, straight, grooved, double edged and with a characteristic hilt, the transition from this to the single edged, hollow ground, cutting weapon taking place through stages now represented by the Usong But, with half the back of the blade sharpened, the Janggut of the Sulok passing into the fretwork and inlay and the Lambai and Beladai Gajah into the finger guards of the old Kayan and Kenyah weapons.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

Plate XVII.—1. Andus; 2. Rantai; 3. Jenoya; 4. Apit Liang; 5. Belinkong; 6. Rajah Laut.

aa. Jangut; *bb.* Lambai gajah.

Plate XVIII.—1—6 As above; 7. Kenyah parang ilang mata bayu; 8. Kenyah parang ilang usong but; 9. Kenyah parang ilang usong belubong.

aa. Jangut; *bb.* Lambai gajah.

A MALAY TRADITION
Is Bukit Greja, near Malacca Pindah, the site of the old
Portuguese Settlement and Chapel of Nossa Senhora da
Esperança mentioned by Eredia in his "Declaração"?

By the Rev. Fr. R. CARDON, M.E. Paris,

Mr. V. E. Dias, in a paper which was read in June, 1939, to the Malacca Historical Society, reports a tradition transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation amongst the Malays of the Malacca Pindah district, according to which, at one time, Bukit Greja "belonged to the *Nazareni*" or Christians.¹

In 1915, Mr. V. E. Dias, then stationed at Alor Gajah (Territory of Malacca), went with the Alor Gajah football team to play a return match against the Belimbing team at the village of the same name. There they were offered tea at the house of one of the elders of the village. "I sat next to an old village elder. As I was sipping my tea my attention," writes Mr. Dias, "was drawn to a hill some distance away before me. I asked the old man the name of the hill.

He replied "Don't you know that hill? It is called Bukit Greja. It formerly belonged to the *Nazareni* (Nazarenes or Christians)." This awakened my curiosity and interest, so I asked him for further particulars. "Tuan," he said, "I heard this from my grand-father who in turn had heard it from his ancestors."

OVER TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.—Then he continued: "More than two hundred years ago, the river at the foot of the hill which has its source somewhere near Tebong and runs to Malacca was very deep. One day some boats arrived at the foot of the hill laden with men and women, and a lot of heavy luggage, including some "Mangkok Perak" and "Mangkok Mas" (Silver and Gold vessels). There were also priests on board—some in white robes and some in black.

The village people were surprised at such a spectacle. They rushed towards both banks of the river to see the newcomers. They questioned each other of the meaning of the great turn-out. One of the Malay elders replied "Malacca Pindah" which means "Removal of Malacca," hence this particular village is still called "Malacca Pindah".

The newcomers engaged some of the natives to put up some temporary sheds along the river bank. Later on a small church was built on the top of the hill which is called "Bukit Greja"—afterwards replaced by another built of stone, and having a tiled roof. The foundations of the Church and Altar were visible until about thirty years ago.

A MONASTERY.—The priests then got another piece of land lower down the hill, and constructed a large building or monastery which housed them and some of the people. As it was difficult for the priests and others to cross the padi fields to the Church on the top of the hill, some natives were engaged to make a small path leading to the Church. This path was known as "Tambah Padri" (Tambah means raise and Padri Priest).

The priests went daily to the hill to say Mass in the Church, and it was said that it was not an unusual thing for some people of Malacca to go to the Church in boats for 'sembaiaing' (worship). Many of the Orang Bukit (aborigines) were converted to Christianity and lived on Bukit Panchor (Forest Reserve on the Malacca Pindah—Machap Road) where they planted a lot of fruit trees including durians, limes, etc. Some large durian trees are still on the land.

On the right of Bukit Greja, there was a Cemetery or burial ground. The Malays called this place "Lubak Tengkorak" (cave of skulls). Since the alienation of the land for tapioca and rubber planting the foundations of the old Church on Bukit Greja and the ruins of the Monastery were dug up."

"More than two hundred years ago," his informant told Mr. Dias, some boats arrived at the foot of the hill, laden with men and women. There were also priests on board, bringing with them sacred vessels (Mangkok perak and mangkok mas). They were fugitives from Malacca, a circumstance which explains the name of *Malacca Pindah* given by the Malay people to the place where they settled. They also built a chapel on the top of the hillock which has since been called *Bukit Greja* (Port.: igreja = church) or Church Hill.

Some seven years ago, I paid a visit to this hill with a friend, a planter from a neighbouring estate; but, in spite of a thorough inspection of the place, we could find no trace at all either of the church itself or of any other building. We, too, were told that, long ago, the stones had been removed and used for various purposes.

That Bukit Greja was "once upon a time" the site of a Portuguese chapel is beyond doubt as we have, to prop up the Malay tradition, the texts and map of Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia.² According to him there were three parishes "in the interior of the country: *S. Lazaro, Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe* and *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca*, stretching along the river bank" with "2,000 Christians besides infidel vassals."³ These native people were "living contentedly on the produce of the lands and fields, and raising large herds of cattle and smaller animals, besides geese, ducks and fowls. The greater part of the country is uninhabited and deserted, except in the district of *Nany* (Naning) which is occupied by *Monancabos* (Menangkabaus) engaged in the trade in *betre* (betel). These *Monancabos* with their stocks of *betre* come down from Nany to the *Pancalan* (Pengkalan; here Pangkalan Naning) whence they proceed by boat to the market-place at Malacca. It is by the same route past *Nany* that one proceeds from Malacca to *Rombo* (Rembau), head of the Malayo villages in a territory which belongs to the Crown of *Jhor* (Johore); *Rombo* also is peopled by *Monancabos*."⁴ Of the Menangkabau Malays, therefore, those living in

BROKEN PLATES.—Bukit Gereja is accessible from the Malacca Station on the Malacca Pindah—Machap Road. It is about two miles from the Alor Gajah Railway Station on the Malacca Pindah—Machap Road. The river at the foot of the hill is pretty wide. On a visit to the place later we engaged some Malays to make a small foot-bridge with round poles to enable our party to cross the river to the hill. We found some bricks here and there and broken plates.

It is said that when the priests left the place, the buildings were in a good state of repair but we could get no one to tell us what became of the valuable vessels that had been taken there previously.—(An Old Church on Bukit Gereja; in THE MALACCA GUARDIAN, June, 19, 1839).

²Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India, and Cathay. Translated from the Portuguese with notes by J. V. Mills, B.A., (Oxon.), M.C.S.—J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol VIII, Pt. I, April, 1930, map facing p. 207.

³Eredia's Description, etc., 1. cit., p. 20.

⁴Eredia's Description, etc., 1. cit., pp. 22-23.

the Naning district were vassals of Portugal while those in and around Rembau village were subjects of the king of Johore. The former are designated by Diogo do Couto as the "*Manancabos* who were friends of the Fortress," and, in 1586, revolted against Malacca in favour of Alli Jalla 'Abdu'l Jalil Shah, Sultan of Johore, the famous Rajale of the Portuguese historians.

"They came down through the hinterland," writes Couto, "*setting fire to and destroying gardens, orchards and all cultivated lands along the Malacca river*"; this was sorely felt in the city because coming down the river from these places were vegetables, fruit, betel, cocoa-nuts and other articles of food which are much appreciated by all in time of dearth; these things began to thin; the Rajale alone could not have been able to stop them.⁵ João da Silva,⁶ seeing that even the little that was available was running shorter day by day, assembled in Council the Bishop⁷ and the Captains; after they had discussed the matter, all agreed upon the necessity of sending a punitive expedition against those enemies who were in a village

⁵In 1586, Alli Jalla 'Abdu'l Jalil Riayat Shah, blockaded Malacca by sea, stopping all the victualling boats going to the town and thus causing such a dreadful famine about the end of the year that a great number of its inhabitants were dying along the streets. "Those who could have supplied the wants of the poor had not enough for themselves as their families had but a little rice with which to cook *canjas* (Mal. : kanji), a sort of pap of which each person was given once a day, and only a very little; even in the house of the Captain, his own people had nothing else to eat, save rice in a very small quantity. In any house where there was rice for sale, it was 1 cruzado for 2 pounds (1 pound = 16 ounces): a chicken cost 5 cruzados, a handful of biscuit 15, a cocoa-nut 1 tester. As of all these things there was only a meagre supply, they were soon exhausted and then absolutely nothing could be had, so that not only the poor, but even the rich people, fell into utter misery; and all the poor people, and they were many, had to feed themselves on roots from the jungle, on cats and dogs and all sorts of foul things which impaired their health so that they were dying along the streets and in the forest as if they had been stricken by a contagious disease. Things came to such a pass that some of them devoured those who had breathed their last there, at their side, from hunger. Women threw their children into the river because they had neither milk to give them nor anything else. Others abandoned them in the jungle or in the streets where all perished miserably." (De Asia, do Couto : Dec. X, Liv. VIII, Cap. XIII).

⁶Joao da Silva had left Portugal in December, 1582, with the commission of Captain of Malacca. During the siege of 1587 by the Sultan of Johore 'Abdu'l Jalil Riayat Shah, he went mad. The Bishop, Don Joao Ribeiro Gayo, took command of the Fortress and equipped a fleet against Johore. In July-August of the same year, Don Paulo da Lima, sent by the Viceroy Don Duarte de Menezes with a fleet to relieve Malacca, destroyed Johore and succeeded Joao da Silva as Captain of the Fortress.

⁷Don Joao Ribeiro Gayo, second Bishop of Malacca (1581-1603 ?) It was during his episcopacy that the Convent of the *Madre de Deus* was built on Bukit China, near the Prigi Raja, in 1581, by Joao-Baptista Lucarelli de Pisauro (or Pizarro), an Italian monk of the Franciscan Branch. Don Ribeiro Gayo announced this event to Pope Gregory XIII by letter dated 7th January, 1582. In 1586, he put the Augustinians in charge of the little chapel of S. Antonio, near the gate of the same name (also known as the gate of the *Madre de Deus*) within the walls of the Fortress. The monastery was built by Frei Jeronymo da Madre de Deus. Bishop Gayo saw the arrival of the English

called *Nam* ('Nau),⁸ some seven or eight leagues in the interior, notwithstanding the hardships in perspective on account of the road which was almost impracticable. Diogo de Azambuja offered himself immediately to João da Silva to lead this expedition, which he decided to start at once. The Captain, in fear that many would refuse to join the expedition on account of the difficulties of the road, commanded to hold ready the *Bantims*⁹ and other small craft and, one day, on the 5th or 6th November, repairing to the Plain of Our Lady,¹⁰ he mustered there all the men of the Fortress. Then he appointed Diogo de Azambuja, and with him Don Manoel d'Almada, one hundred Portuguese whom he had picked up in advance, and some six hundred natives carrying with them four hundred *espingardas*¹¹ and wished them good luck. Diogo d'Azambuja mustered all his men and they embarked in the boats which had been kept ready. For some leagues he proceeded up the river to a place

and the Dutch in the East : of Lancaster the ' Captain Wooden-Leg ' as he was nicknamed by the Portuguese, who captured two of their vessels off Pulo Sembilan ; of Benjamin Wood, six years later, and of Cornelisz Van Houttman at Acheh, in 1599. Though forming one kingdom under Philip II of Spain, the Portuguese and the Spaniards were at daggers drawn. Don Ribeiro Gayo and Marta, the Visitor of the Jesuits, tried, but in vain, to re-establish harmony and unite the two nations against the Dutch and the British. The old Bishop died, some say in 1601, others in 1603 ; it is impossible to say for certain when and where he died.

⁸Nam : Portuguese spelling of Enau, ' Nau, (also : Nao :). This village is situated between Simpang Ampat and Kampong Balik Munkar on the Alor Gajah—Kendong (in the Negri Sembilan) Road. In the Negri Sembilan, the sugar-palm is called enau or 'nau, *Arenga saccharifera*, Labill. Probably as this palm was plentiful in this place it gave its name to it.

⁹*Bantim*. " Godinho de Eredia describes a *bantim* as being a kind of skiff, a smaller vessel than a *jalea*, carrying oars and masts, and rudders on both sides, and as being used for sea-fights. Wilkinson's Dictionary gives *banting* as a native sailing boat with two masts. Crawford leaves it as " a kind of boat." Van Eysinga in his Malay-Dutch Dictionary has *bantieng*, *soort van boot twee masten*." (Barreto de Resende's Account of Malacca by George Maxwell, in J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 60, 1911, Notes, p. 15).

¹⁰*Campo da Nossa Senhora* (Our Lady's Plain.) Probably between Bukit China and the river ; thus named from the Convent of the Mother of God (*Madre de Deus*) on Bukit China.

¹¹*Musket*. " Matchlocks were introduced into Portuguese India in 1512 " when some of German manufacture were imported and there were ' found men who ventured to fire them ' (Correa, II, 302). Goa workmen were capable of making them and improving on the models. As early as 1510. Albuquerque began to enlist trained bands and give them some tincture of discipline : the officers for whom he wrote to teach them drill (Cartas, p. 19) came in the fleet with the matchlocks ; they had themselves been taught in Italy. Albuquerque started a corps of 300 pikemen, 50 cross-bowmen and 50 *matchlocks men*. Early matchlocks were not an unmixed advantage. The powder used in them and in big guns was different, and in the first siege of Diu several of the latter were burst because the two got mixed. The matchlock-man had to stand up to his enemy while he reloaded,—a long operation during which his opponent would pour in a stream of arrows. The Portuguese in consequence took their slaves into action to carry a reserve of weapons. In 1536 rapidity of fire was increased by the introduction of cartridges containing the correct measure of powder and the ball." (Whiteway : *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 38-9).

from where he was to go by land. There our men erected a stockade, and a few were left to look after the boats, and then under the guidance of spies, they went inland continually travelling in the thick of a dense forest, crossing streams and swamps where they got entangled and lost their way. On the day of St. Martin, Pope, which is the 12th of the month (November), they came within sight of the village (of 'Nau) where the enemy had built a fort. Diogo d'Azambuja set his men in order and gave the command of the vanguard to Don Manoel d'Almada with Gonçalo Martin, an inhabitant of Malacca, Pedro da Cunha Carneiro, Antonio d'Andria, Antonio de Paiva, Antonio Maia and some others, fifty in all, 200 lascars and two Fathers (*sic*) of the Company,¹² Father Diogo Pinto and Brother Gonçalo Texeira. Diogo d'Azambuja took the lead of the rear formed with the rest of the men. Don Manoel d'Almada and his company marched ahead and, before they could reach the village, they met the enemy to the number of about 2,000 men waiting for them in the open. Falling upon them they engaged a..... battle in which Diogo d'Azambuja joined directly and behaved himself as a Captain and a soldier as well. Don Manoel da Almada and his company fought in the vanguard with much valour and mordant, pressing so hard upon the enemies that they were put to flight by the volleys of musketry which killed a good many of them; he chased them in this way to the Fort, making a terrible slaughter of the enemies. The only losses suffered by our men were three of them killed and four wounded. Amongst the latter was Pedro da Cunha Carneiro whose right arm had been shot through by a dart. Seeing with what little danger this exploit had been carried out, Diogo d'Azambuja gave the order to set fire to the village of *Nam* and the neighbouring kampongs; he had, therefore, the trees cut down and all the fields laid waste, so that nothing should be left standing. And, as he was told that in another place, at a distance of one day's walk, named *Rombo* (Rembau), a Captain of the *Rajale*, called *Nadoi*, had intrenched himself in a fort with a garrison, he determined to storm and level it to the ground. While on his way to that place, the inhabitants met him, begging for his mercy and for peace, saying that they were not at war with Malacca,¹³ and that the Captain of the *Rajale* who was there, as soon as he knew of his coming, would surrender the Fort and leave for Muar. Diogo d'Azambuja granted them mercy and peace, and knowing that he

¹²Two Religious of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), one a priest, Fr. Diogo Pinto, the other a lay Brother, Bro. Gonçalo Texeira. On board the Portuguese fleets and with the Portuguese armies there were always one or more chaplains, generally belonging to Religious Orders.

¹³Though vassals of Johore, it seems that the Menangkabaus of Rembau had not, this time, joined those of Naning, vassals of the Crown of Portugal, against Malacca.

had nothing more to fear, turned back to cross again the forest and repair to the place where he had left the boats. On his arrival at Malacca he was given an enthusiastic welcome."¹⁴

From this narrative it appears that, as early as 1586, there were Malaccan settlers along the Malacca river, as far up as Pengkalan Naning, living on the produce of their gardens and orchards. The last settlement, with its chapel of Our Lady of Hope, was separated from the Menangkabaus of Naning, then vassals of Portugal, by a wide expanse of swampy forests through which d'Azambuja's expeditionary corps had to travel for some days, it seems, before it could reach the village of *Nam* where the rebels had intrenched in a stronghold. The distance from the Fortress to where the boats were left and guides secured for the land-journey is given by do Couto as from seven to eight leagues, that is about twenty-five miles, roughly the distance from Malacca to the Penkalen Naning when following the course of the river. Pangkalan Naning, as noted in Eredia's *Declaramcam*, was the place from whence the Menangkabaus, who were friends of the Fortress, used to embark with their stocks of betel "for the market-place of Malacca",¹⁵ "and elsewhere", that is the other Portuguese settlements down river: *Nossa Senhora da Guia*, the Hermitage of the Franciscans of the *Madre de Deus* standing at the mouth of the *Rio Machat*, or more likely of the Sungei Durian Tunggal, and *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*, near Tampoi.

We can, therefore, surmise in all probability that the place where d'Azambuja landed his troops was Pengkalan Naning,¹⁶ head of the land route to Naning and Rembau, situated a little further up than Our Lady of Hope, the outpost of the Portuguese settlements along the banks of the Malacca river. In Eredia's time the upper course of the river was known as the *Rio Batan*, a name it has kept till now, Sungei Batang Malacca.

Now, if we give a glance at Eredia's map, we find that Our Lady of Hope is surrounded by the following localities: *Pancalan Nany*, *Bilimbim*, *Bringe* (or Dringuet), *Landu*, *Sunebulo*, *Lubotcopon*

¹⁴De Asia, do Couto: Dec. X, Liv. VIII, Cap. XIV. This expedition is mentioned by Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, p. 69; and by Winstedt: *A History of Johor*, in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Pt. III, (1932), p. 23.

¹⁵Eredia's Description, etc., 1. cit., p. 23.

¹⁶Pangkalan Naning "a point on the Malacca river within Naning territory and about 12 miles N. by W. of Malacca town, near the Alor Gajah railway station." (Report of Governor Balthazar Bort on Malacca, 1678; translated by M. J. Bremner, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. V, (1927); Notes p. 223.) "Mr. Dawson, M.C.S., writes to the translator (of Eredia's Account, J. V. Mills) 'Near Alor Gajah Railway Station is a level grassy place on the bank of the Malacca River known to all as Pangkalan. This is certainly the place referred to (by Eredia: These *Monancabos* come down from *Nany* to the *Pancalan*). It is probably the nearest navigable point on the river at which people coming down from Naning would arrive to embark to Malacca or elsewhere.'" (Eredia's Description, 1. cit., p. 119).

and *Sunecopon*, which are the actual Alor Gajah, Belimbing, Beringin, Lendu, Kampong Sungei Bulu, Lubok Kepong and Sungei Kepong, the two last names applying to "an area of *kampong* and *sawah* 20½ miles on the south side of the Simpang Ampat—Brisu Road."¹⁷

In his notes accompanying his translation of Eredia's *Declaracam* Mr. Mills "has ventured to place the Church of Our Lady of Hope at the 18th mile on the Malacca-Lubok China Road."¹⁸ Would it not be more correct to place it at Bukit Greja, close to the Malacca Pindah railway halt, eight miles from Tampin station?

My reason for this suggestion is that, according to Eredia's text and map, *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca* is situated on the Malacca river, and not on, or near, the banks of the Sungei Baru. Eredia, certainly, is wholly mistaken when he says that the source of this latter river is "quite close to *Seravattos*, the Royal Orchard, and to the hills where stands the Church of Our Lady of Hope."¹⁹ The source of the Sungei Baru is near the Agricultural Experimental Station, about the 14th milestone of the Malacca—Lubok China Road, that is at a distance of 9¼ miles, in a bee-line, from Bukit Greja which, in my opinion, should be considered the true site of the Hermitage of Our Lady of Hope.

* * * *

For how long and to what extent did de Azambuja's expedition restore peace amongst the Menangkabau Malays of Naning? Did these join the 14,000 men of the "neighbouring kings" who, twenty years later, blockaded Malacca by land while Matelief was besieging her on sea? Neither Eredia nor Guerrero tell us.²⁰ But, in a Royal Letter of the 26th February, 1614, King Philip III²¹ requests the Viceroy, Don Jeronymo de Azevedo,²² to open an inquest on the impossibility of the Malacca people to pay "taxes on the export of their merchandise to the Coromandel coast, to Pegu and Bengala, taxes which they had not to pay previously". The members of the Town Council have as a reason for being exempted that they had suffered heavy losses "during the siege by the Hollanders who destroyed their orchards, their gardens and cocoa-nut plantations out of which they used to get their living."²³ That the plantations and orchards which had been destroyed were only those around the town is less than probable; I, therefore, feel inclined to think that

¹⁷Eredia's Descript., I. cit., p. 109.

¹⁸Eredia's Descript., I. cit., p. 111.

¹⁹Eredia's Descript., I. cit., p. 21.

²⁰Relacao Annual das Coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missoes, Tom. II, (1604-06), Liv. II, Cap. III : Das Coisas que passaram em Malacca.

²¹Philip III of Spain, and II of Portugal (1598-1621).

²²Viceroy of Portuguese India (1612-17).

²³Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Moncoes : Doc. 449, III.

all the Portuguese settlements, from *S. Jeronymo* up to *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca* shared the same fate as the neighbouring Hermitages which were laid waste every time an enemy landed, and that, after 1606, if the Malacca people had fallen into such a state of poverty, the Menangkabaus of Naning and those of Rembau had their share of responsibility in the pillaging. With the Portuguese and, later on, with the Dutch, they proved to be a very restless and unruly lot of people, continually rebelling against their masters and aiming at a total independence from all alien power.

Bocarro records that, in 1614, the king of Pahang, Abdu'l Ghafur,²⁴ asked Gaspar de Mello, Captain of the Fortress (1613-15) to help him to quell a revolt of the *Menacabes*. "As we had great need of this king to victual Malacca by land, it was decided that we would help him."²⁵ Accordingly, Diogo de Mendonça da Silva²⁶ set off with six *jalias*²⁷ and succeeded in bringing to Pahang the Menangkabau chiefs who made their submission to the king.²⁸ In a letter to Don Jeronymo de Azevedo, Philip III tells the Viceroy that he has been informed by the Archbishop Don Frei Christovão de Sa

²⁴Abdu'l Ghafur, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l Kadir. He succeeded his young brother Ahmad who reigned only one year and took the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin Shah. In 1584, he married a sister of the queen of Patani. In November 1607, Admiral Matelieff solicited his aid against the Portuguese. In 1612 Alauddin Riayat Shah II, king of Johore "overran the suburbs of Pahang burning all before him and likewise *Campon Sina* (Kampong China) which caused great dearth in Pahang." (Van der Broek). 'Abdu'l-Ghafur was killed in 1614 by one of his sons "whose name history does not disclose and who succeeded him." (W. Linehan: *A History of Pahang*; J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. XIV, Pt. II, (1936), pp. 29-35).

²⁵Bocarro: *Decada 13 da Historia da India*, Pe. I, Cap. LXVII.

²⁶Also known as Diogo de Mendonca Furtado. By order of the Viceroy Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, he left Goa on the 18th August 1613 to relieve Siriam threatened by the king of Ava. His fleet being too weak to attack, he continued to Perlis and Kedah which he burned and arrived at Malacca on the 18th April 1614. As he had been given the commission of Captain Major of the Land and Sea Forces at Malacca, he started important military reforms by introducing the discipline of the European armies among both. He was assisted in his task of improving the defences of the Fortress by Antonio Barreto da Silva, *Desembargador*, who finished the construction of the ramparts, re-opened the gun-foundry and powder-mill. In 1615, he defeated an Achinese fleet of 1,500 vessels near Malacca and fought the Dutch with success. In 1617, Diogo de Mendonca returned to India leaving his Captaincy to Antonio Pinto da Fonseca. (Cf. Bocarro, 13 *Decada*, and *Documentos Remettidos*: Carta Regia 14 Fev. 1615, Doc. 518, III).

²⁷"A kind of galley much used by the Portuguese. It carried a number of fighting men. There is the following mention of a *jalea* in the 'Storia do Mogor' (Vol. I, page 370) "The king of Arakan.....sent him back to his father with a number of boats called *jalias* which are small galleys commanded by Portuguese subjects of the said king." (W. George Maxwell: *Barreto de Resende's Account of Malacca*, J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 60, (1911), pp. 14-15).

²⁸Bocarro, 13 *Dec.*, Cap. LXVII, p. 293.

e Lisboa²⁹ that, when Diogo de Mendonça went to the port of Pahang, the king of this state "declared himself to be my vassal and took the oath and said that he would acknowledge it (this vassalage) with a yearly tribute of one kris; the Archbishop adds that the amity of the said king would be very useful to that Fortress (Malacca), because it is possible to communicate with him by land and so, by the same way, to help each other in case of emergency".³⁰

The good relations which existed between Malacca and Pahang about the end of the XVIth century had originated for a large part from the trade carried on by land from the eastern to the western coasts. This trade was the source of benefit to the Menangkabau of the interior as the trade-route crossed the territories occupied by them. From about 1550, they had settled in Pahang through the Ulu Muar, and from there they had reached the Naning and Rembau districts, "Their trade," says Dr. Linehan in his *History of Pahang*, "was almost entirely with Malacca and the bulk of it passed by the land-route to that city."³¹ This circumstance explains why, when the Dutch made their appearance in the eastern seas, the Menangkabaus sided with the Portuguese rather than with the Dutch. Moreover the trade-route through the Peninsula had also been adopted by merchants from the east as the safest for the transport of their goods to Malacca, the struggle between the Dutch and the Portuguese, as well as the wars of Aceh, having made the sea-route insecure. The merchants accordingly used "to land their goods in Pahang, for safety, and to send them by the old trade-route up the Bera and the Seriting, then by portage to the head-waters of the Muar and so to Malacca."³² On Eredia's map we see that the land-route, following the course of the *Rio de Pam* (Pahang river) crosses this river near *Sartim* (Seriting) and then the Jelai, or head-waters of the Muar river between Jompol and *Jol* (Johol); it afterwards passes by Rapah, *Bethe* (Petai?), Ganon and ends at Pengkalan Naning which is also the terminus of another trade-route coming from the village of that name, from Rembau and Sungei Ujong. At Pengkalan Naning goods were brought down the river directly to Malacca, passing by the inland Portuguese settlements of *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca*, *Nossa Senhora da Guia* and *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*.

²⁹D. Frei Christovao de Sa e Lisboa, third Bishop of Malacca was consecrated in 1605 and, that same year, left Portugal with the new Bishop of Macau on board one of the three galleons bound directly for Malacca where he arrived the same year. In 1610, Don Frei Christovao was transferred to the Archiepiscopal See of Goa.

³⁰Carta Regia, 1616, Fev. 16, para D. Jeronymo de Azevedo &c. Documentos Remettidos, Doc. 640, III.

³¹J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol XIV, Pt. II, (1936), p. 40.

³²Linehan : A History of Pahang, 1. cit., p. 40.

Though the benefit they were deriving from the land-route was large, the Menangkabaus could not resist turning against Malacca when there was a prospect of an immediate profit. We read in *Victorias*,³³ by Padre Manoel Xavier, S. J. that during the famous siege by the Achinese, in 1629-30, it was rumoured in Malacca that "the *Menacabos* who dwell two leagues from Malacca (at Our Lady da Guadalupe), and are our friends had sold the Fortress to the Achinese for thirty thousand cruzados, promising them to get into the Fortress and to kill all our people, which would not have been very difficult to do as they were allowed to enter and leave it freely. When he heard this rumour, the Captain Major³⁴ made inquiries, and entrance into the Fortress was forbidden to them; even some who had been made prisoners were treated as suspicious and traitors to that Fortress."³⁵

About the end of the Portuguese ascendancy in Malacca, a little before 1638, Captain Pedro Barreto de Resende, in his *Livro do Estado*,³⁶ gives an account of the settlements along the river

³³*Victorias do Governador da India* Nuno Alvares Botelho, por o Padre Manoel Xavier da Companhia de Jesus, A Manoel Severim de Faria Chautre, e Conego da Sancta Se de Evora.—Anno 1633. Manoel Xavier wrote also a *Life of Diogo do Couto*, Chronicler of the State of India and Curator Major of its Archives (*Torre do Tombo*) and a *Compendio Universal* of all the Viceroy, Governors, and Captains, &c. which has been published in *O Oriente Português*, Review of the Archeological Commission of Portuguese India, Vol. XIII, (1916), pp. 240-56, and Vol. XIV, (1916), pp. 1-228.

³⁴Antonio Pinto da Fonseca. In 1611, he was sent to India with the office of *Provedor* and *Visitador* of all the Fortresses. In a letter (Jan. 7, 1614), the King gives instructions to the Viceroy Don Jeronymo de Azevedo, concerning da Fonseca: all necessary help must be given him in the execution of his duties; he must receive his pay regularly and must be showed all marks of respect due to his rank. The tombstone of da Fonseca is kept in the old Church of *Nossa Senhora da Graça* (wrongly called *da Annonciada*) on the Malacca hill. Under his coat-of-arms is engraved 'Grave of Antonio da Fonseca Commander of the Order of St. James. Provedor-General of the Fortresses of India. Captain-General of the Sea and Land in the Parts of the South. Died on the 27th December, 1635.' (E. M. Merewether: *Inscriptions in St. Paul's Church, Malacca*; in *J.S.B.R.A.S.*, No. 34, (1900), p. 6.

³⁵Man. Xavier: *Victorias* &c., verso of folio 10 (Copy at the Raffles Museum).

³⁶Cf. Barreto de Resende's Account, 1. cit., pp. 7-8. The full title of the *Livro do Estado* is as follows: "Book of the Plans of all the Fortresses and Towns of the State of East India, with Description of the Altitude they are in, and of all which they contain: Artillery, Garrison, Men-at-arms, and Vassals; Income and Expenditure; Anchorages and Shoals of their Roadsteads; Kings of their Hinterland, and the Power thereof; the State of Peace or War they keep; and Everything which is subject to the Crown of Spain. Dedicated to the Most Serene Majesty King Philip IV of the Spains, and III of Portugal, our King and Lord." The author of this work was not, as hitherto believed, Captain Pedro de Rezende, but Antonio Bocarro Chronicler-in-Chief and Keeper of the Archives of India, appointed by the Viceroy D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares (1629-35). Bocarro is also known as the author of the *Decada* 13a. da *Historia da India*. The original title of the *Livro do Estado* was "Book of the Plans of all the Fortresses, Cities and Towns of the East India," a manuscript volume in-folio gr.—of over 300 leaves, with the plans of 48 Portuguese forts or settlements in Asia and a preface, dated

identical to that of Godinho de Eredia. Unfortunately he does not mention any of them by name "Up the river, beyond Malacca," there are many fertile orchards producing a great variety of fruit *owned* by married men or *casados* and natives. The natives who are *Menancabos Moors*, "vassals of His Majesty" and number some five or six thousand, live there with their families make good profit especially by cultivating betel. They also purchase tin from the inhabitants of the interior which they bring by boat to Malacca. There is no doubt that de Rezende means here the Menangkabau Malays of Naning as he tells us that "inland their land borders the *Menancabos*, Moors of a land called *Rindo* (Lendu or Rembau?)" who are "vassals of the king of *Pam* (Pahang)."³⁷ In the report

17th Febr., 1635. Of the two copies which were sent by Bocarro to Portugal one is still preserved in the Public Library at Evora. "Two other XVII. cent. copies exist in the National Library at Madrid and the Library of the ducal Cadaval family at Lisbon, respectively."

"A later, and, in some respects, fuller, version of Bocarro's work was made by Pedro Barreto de Rezende, private Secretary of the Conde de Linhares, who was Bocarro's contemporary—and collaborator—in India during the years 1629-35. There are in existence at least three contemporary copies of Rezende's work, two in Paris, and one in the British Museum (Sloane Ms. 197) entitled *Liuro do Estado da India*, and dated 1646. From Rezende's preface, we learn that it was he who drew the 48 plans in Bocarro's original manuscript, whilst the latter was responsible for the text. It is interesting to note that Rezende pays a handsome tribute to Bocarro's industry and zeal in compiling the 1635 *Liuro*, whereas the latter in his own preface makes no allusion to the fact that de Rezende drew the plans for his work. Rezende's version is somewhat fuller than Bocarro's since he included biographical sketches of the Viceroy, and a Chronological list of the ships which made the India voyage, from 1497 till 1635. For the rest, the text of his description of the Portuguese settlements is taken straight from Bocarro's ten years older original, with little more than a few verbal changes and misreadings here and there." (C. R. Boxer: *Macao, Three hundred Years ago*; as described by Antonio Bocarro in 1635, and now translated with an Introduction and Notes.—From the 'T'ien Hsia' Monthly, April, 1938, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 284-285.

It is from the Sloane Manuscript, No. 197, that Sir George Maxwell made his translation of 'Barreto de Rezende's Account of Malacca.' This Manuscript, in addition to the coloured plans "contains eight pen and ink charts signed:—*Petrus Berthelot primum cosmographicum indicorum imperium faciebat anno domini 1635.*" Berthelot was born in Honfleur (France) in A.D. 1600. He was for some time a pirate, or Captain of a privateer, and then became a barefooted Carmelite monk. He went to Goa, and in 1629, was appointed first pilot to a Portuguese fleet sent to defend Malacca against the attack of the King of Acheen. (This fleet of 28 ships and 1 pataxo, with the Governor of India, Nuno Alvares Botelho, and 900 Portuguese soldiers was commanded by Admiral Andre Coelho. The armada left Goa on a Saturday, 22nd September, and, after a very rough passage reached Malacca on the 21st October." *Victorias &c. por Pe. Manoel Xavier, Folia 5-6.*) "He greatly distinguished himself and was given the appointment of Cosmographer Royal of the Indies. After this he made a number of voyages and prepared charts of the coasts he visited" (Rezende's Account &c., I. cit., p. 2). In 1638, Berthelot, now a Carmelite monk with the name of Frei Denis of the Nativity, accompanied the ambassador D. Francisco de Sousa de Castro to Acheh. There he was put to death *in odium fidei* with 60 other Portuguese who refused to apostatize.

³⁷"In European records," says Dr. Linehan, "from 1623 onwards, we hear sometimes (particularly from the Portuguese) of a king of Pahang-Johore, and again of a king of Johore—the reference, in all cases, whatever

presented by Commissary Justus Schouten to the Council of India, on the 7th September, 1641, eight months after the conquest of Malacca by the Dutch, we are told that the inhabitants of Naning who, according to his estimate, do not rise above one thousand, are governed by a Temenggong (spelt *Tomagon* and *Tommangon* by Schouten, and *Temungan* by Barreto de Resende) appointed by the Viceroy of India himself.³⁸ "To him they owe obedience" and it is his duty to settle disputes between those under his charge and to punish offenders of the law. In case of prisoners sentenced to death, the Temenggong must communicate with the Captain Governor of the Fortress. This official, who was a Portuguese-married man, lived in Malacca and had under him two agents called *orang kaya*, one in Naning and the other in *Ringgi* (Rengek), probably both of them natives; and their duty was to inform him of whatever happenings of importance took place in their districts. The Portuguese *casado* who performed the office of Temenggong, in 1641, had been nominated for life. As a remuneration the Temenggong was given a fixed quantity "of betel or *siri* that came to the market from Naning to Malacca, which amounted yearly to fully 1,000 cruzados." Also, every time a Menangkabau came down the river in his own prahu, he had to deliver this official one and half pounds of rice and "one cruzado for the *prau* (prahu). He received further as presents a share of the freights, fowls, and cattle that were brought to the market at Malacca."³⁹ At the time Barreto de Resende wrote his Account of Malacca, half a league up the river a log of wood was thrown across the water at night and maintained by a chain padlocked to a sentry-box in which stood a Portuguese provided by the city, which paid him six cruzados *per mensem*. This was to prevent any forbidden merchandise being smuggled out or in from the large vessels at anchor beyond the *Ilha das Naos*, now known as Pulo Jawa.⁴⁰ The Menangkabau Malays of Naning, like those of Rengek, "being under the rule of Malacca as vassals of the Crown of

was the actual position in Pahang, seems to have been to Sultan 'Abdu'l Jalil III." (1623-77). (W. Linehan: A History of Pahang; in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIV, Pt. II, (1936), p. 39).

³⁸In a letter, Febr. 28, 1612, to the Viceroy, D. Jeronymo de Azevedo, the king complains that "the Captains of the Fortress of Malacca, when they come into office, have provision from the Viceroy of this State to provide those of their retinue with all the charges which happen to be vacant, amongst them, those of Shabandar and of Judge of the *Alfandega* (Customs), though it be contrary to its regulations." The king enjoins the Viceroy that henceforward he takes care that the Captains of this Fortress should hold by the King's orders. (Documentos Remettidos &c., Doc. 240, III).

³⁹Schouten's Report of his visit to Malacca, in 'The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640-41', by A. Leupe; translated by Mac Hacobian. J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIV, Pt. I, (1936), p. 73.

⁴⁰Barreto de Resende's Account, l. cit., p. 5.

Portugal," had, in time of war, "to assist the king's army with a certain number of armed men,"⁴¹ under the command of the Portuguese.⁴²

Was the Ermida da Nossa Senhora da Esperanca, mentioned by Eredia about 1600, still extant on Bukit Greja, in 1641? It seems that the question must be answered in the negative as in his list of the Churches and Hermitages, Justus Schouten does not give its name nor that of *Nossa Senhora da Guia*. Both Ermidas, very likely, were destroyed during the siege of Malacca by the Dutch if, however, they had not been wiped out already before by the turbulent Menangkabaus of Naning and Rembau.^{42a}

In the extracts from the Archives of the Dutch East India Company, published by Leupe in 'Siege and Capture of Malacca', it appears that, in 1641, the Menangkabau people sided with the Dutch. In a dispatch to Batavia, Adriaen Antoniszoon, the Commander-in-Chief, writes that "on 7 September 1640 another 200 *Manicabers* (Menangkabaus) came down from the mountains to our assistance, and later 300 men from Rembau."⁴³

On the receipt of this news, the Governor-General, Antonio van Diemen, expressed his satisfaction to the Commander-in-Chief and the desire that "the Johorites, the *Manicabers* and the people from *Rambou* should be well rewarded and praised so that they may remain faithful to us."⁴⁴ In his reply to this letter, the Commandant-in-Chief acknowledges the help given him by the Malays who "do a great deal of damage to the enemy by pillaging and plundering everywhere and carrying away fruit and cattle."⁴⁵ At

⁴¹Schouten's Report &c., 1. cit., p. 88.

⁴²"Along the river and inland there are many orchards belonging both to the married Portuguese and to the natives. . . . All these married men have their weapons." (de Resende's Account, 1. cit., p. 5) De Resende had already said before, (p. 4): "A number of Married native Christians live outside Malacca (outside the walls of the Fortress), they are very good soldiers, and use all kinds of arms, especially muskets, in the use of which they are very skilful. In times of war they are very ready and active. . . ."

^{42a}A passage from Schouten's Report confirms our opinion. He writes (1. cit., p. 88): "To the north and south (of the town), the seashore, about three miles from the city up to the rivers *Panagy* (Linggi) and *Kassang* (Kesang) was similarly inhabited while both banks of the *Malacca river* up to the church of *Nossa Signora de Guadalupe* (about 4 miles from the city) were also covered with very beautiful orchards, meadows, and rice fields, and were inhabited."

⁴³The Siege and Capture of Malacca &c., by Leupe, 1. cit., p. 25.

⁴⁴Missive of the Governor-General and Council of India, 30th October, 1640, to Adriaen Antoniszoon, in The Siege and Capture of Malacca &c., by Leupe, 1. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁵Missive by Adriaen Antoniszoon and the Council of Malacca, 20th October, 1640, to the Governor-General and the Council of India; in The Siege and Capture &c., by Leupe, 1. cit., p. 32.

his request an expedition was sent to the Rengek river to "assist two Dutch boats in destroying the beautiful paddy-fields there, and thus reducing further chances of Malacca's relief."⁴⁶

Other Menangkabau Malays, however, had kept friendship with the besieged town, and some of the leading Portuguese did not hesitate to send their women-folk to seek a refuge in Rembau and Naning.⁴⁷ At Rengek, an important colony of some 200 men, women and children was established with a certain Pero d'Abreu (d'Abreu) as headman or Captain. This man, also known as Muka Merah, smuggled provisions to Malacca and, in this way, helped the Portuguese "to hold out six weeks longer."⁴⁸ In a letter of the members of the Council of India, dated 22nd September, 1640, the Commander-in-Chief, Adriaen Antoniszoon, was directed to warn "continually" the people of Muar, Rembau and Naning not to assist the Portuguese; if they dared to do so, "they will be considered our enemies and be liable to be assaulted. Naning and Rambou should be cautioned seriously either to respect their promise of helping Malacca (sic?) and to expel or deliver the Portuguese women, or be prepared for ruination. These villagers must be handed very

⁴⁶ Written 'Ringij' by Bort. "A small stream about 14 miles ESE. from Malacca town. Though the name on the map is given as Rengek, it is more probably Rengit, which is the name of a small insect (Borts' Report, l. cit., Notes by C. O. Blagden, p. 227).

⁴⁷ Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India, 11th Oct., 1640; in *The Siege and Capture &c.*, by Leupe, l. cit., p. 20. However, in a letter from the same to the same of Nov. 9, we are told that "the information given by the prisoners of women fugitives detained in Rambau and Nanning is false." (l. cit., p. 33).

⁴⁸ Private missive by the Commissary Justus Schouten to the Governor-General, 19th Febr., 1641, in *The Siege and Capture &c.*, l. cit., p. 59. Pero d'Abreu, according to Pe, Man. Xavier, was a citizen (*citadao*) of Malacca. He was sent to Acheh by "order of the General Antonio Pinto da Fonseca and of the Captain of the Fortress (Gaspar de Mello de Sampayo) with an embassy, in the name of the King, and there he had been detained" by the king, Sultan Iskandar Shah (alias Perhasa Alam). He sent a letter to da Fonseca and de Mello giving notice that the Achinese were getting ready to besiege the Fortress. He was brought on board the enemy fleet, in 1629, by the Laksamana. The Governor of India, Nuno Alvares Botelho, who had come to the aid of Malacca, refused to negotiate with the Laksamana whose fleet he had bottled up in the Punggor river (*Tollot Mas* of Eredia's map = Telok Mas, the Golden bay), unless d'Abreu was released. (Victorias &c., Fol. 1, 17 and 19). In 1641, eleven days after the reddition of Malacca, in the afternoon of the 25th January, Pero d'Abreu arrived from Rengek on the ship *Vriesenberg* with his people. "He was received with 10 to 12 of his own slaves, the others being left outside the city." (Continuation of Commander Caertekoe's Diary; in *The Siege and Capture &c.*, l. cit., p. 46). Commissary Justus Schouten who was for the continuation of the Portuguese policy with the Menangkabau villages, advised the nomination of a Temenggong. At the demand of the Naning people, Pero d'Abreu was appointed to this office though Schouten did not consider him a reliable man. The new Temenggong, however, had very soon to resign on account of the indiscipline of the inhabitants. In his Report, Schouten says also that "exemplary punishments were meted out to Domingo Fernandez, Antonio Fonseca and Bastiaan (*Bastiao*) d'Almeida (with the advice of Pero d'Abreu and Antonio Carvalho)." (do, p. 73).

strictly because it is evident that Malacca is deriving great benefit from them."⁴⁹ All this leads to the conclusion that the Dutch, and with reason, did not rely blindly on their Menangkabau friends as some of them still remained faithful to the Portuguese.

On the 17th February, one month after the conquest of the town, Governor Johan van Twist and J. Schouten asked for "horses to explore the fields (when works are demolished and trees felled beyond reach of cannon shot) and to keep in check the *Manicabers* who have already started to prick up their ears."⁵⁰

In Naning, the inhabitants were displeased by the appointment of Raja Merah because he had promised to restore all Christians and guns; moreover they could not come to an agreement about the captured slaves. In Rembau, out of fear of a certain Raja Hitam, not only did they refuse to return the Christian refugees, but they also dared not sell their wares in Malacca, though immediately after the capture they were "enjoying and enriching themselves." In Rengek, however, the people, through reluctant to return captives and stolen weapons, began gradually to bring again their goods to Malacca. Even the Christian refugees of that place, to the number of sixty "sent an urgent appeal to the Governor requesting him to accept them as free citizens" and to give them as Captain Ignacio Rodrigues, a former servant of the last Portuguese Governor, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho.⁵¹

Balthazar Bort says of "the people of Johore and the *Manicabers* of Naning and *Rombouw* (Rembau)" that they "were to some extent of service to us in the siege, but principally with a view to their own advantage, robbing and stealing not only from the slaves of the Portuguese, but also from the native Christians, who fled by reason of hunger, and were ordered to leave the town."⁵²

⁴⁹Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India, Oct. 11th, 1640, to Adriaen Antoniszoon and the Council of Malacca; in *The Siege and Capture &c.*, I. cit., p. 20).

⁵⁰Missive by the Governor Johan van Twist and the Commissary Justus Schouten, 17th Febr., 1641, in *The Siege and Capture of Malacca*, I. cit., p. 57. In 1678, Bort mentions that out of the 338 men forming the garrison of Malacca "fourteen of these soldiers are cavalry under the command of the riding master, Jan Gordon, who takes them abroad daily, both morning and afternoon, into fields and forest in order to catch the *Manicaber* kidnappers, who are now our open enemies. Their horses are stabled near the bastion Emilia (former *da Madre de Deus*). This troop must for the present be kept in use." (Report, I. cit., p. 28). The riding master was given for his pay: Res. 4, Cash Stivers 48, Pots Wine 4, Pounds Rice 120 (do, p. 33).

⁵¹Schouten's Report, in *The Siege and Capture &c.*, I. cit., p. 117. In his Report, Schouten mentions "one Bento Rodrigues ex-Captain of infantry and a servant of the late Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho" who accompanied the Vicar Episcopal, Pe. Paulo da Costa and his sister when they paid a visit to himself and Governor van Twist. Is this 'Bento' the same personage as 'Ignacio' Rodrigues?

⁵²Report of Governor Balthazar Bort on Malacca, 1678; translated by M. J. Bremner, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. V, Pt. I, (1927), p. 14.

Though Naning and Rengek Menangkabaus were vassals to the Netherland States, in the same way as they were to the Portuguese Crown, they did not show "such obedience and respect" to their new masters "as they did to the Portuguese Government under pressure." The "present weak state" of the Dutch being well known to them, friendly talks or threats were received alike with an equal indifference. Captain Mendes⁵³ went to Naning "to quell the unrest," and the result was the coming to Malacca of the principal chiefs who, on the 24th July (1641), made their allegiance to the Netherland States. On the 15th of the following month, by a covenant signed between the Governor and the chiefs, Naning, with its dependent villages and hamlets, became "vassals of the Netherland and the Honourable Company."⁵⁴ This treaty included 23 Articles of which the 19th stipulated that any free Malacca Christian who, of his own free will wished to stay in Naning and live there by "agriculture or betel planting" could do so, provided he paid the taxes "along with the other inhabitants." By article 22, the inhabitants of Naning were forbidden to have a trading intercourse "directly or indirectly" with any foreign nation. They were to bring their goods "down the Malacca river only" and the use of the river *Panagie* (or Sungei Linggi) for traffic with foreign traders was refused to them "on any pretext on pain of forfeiting life and goods."⁵⁵ About the end of 1642, as they began to show signs of rebellion, a commission was

⁵³Captain Alexander Mendes was a native from Malacca. During the siege of the town, in 1629-30, by the Laksmana of Aceh, he had the command of a company (*bandeira*) of natives in the plain of St. John, between the hillock of the same name (called by the Malays Bukit Pipi) and Bukit China (Cf. Victorias, &c., Fol. 9) According to Schouten he was appointed Captain of the black Malaccans "beyond and south of the city", that is of Banda Hilir (Scout's Report, I. cit., p. 72) Schouten (do, p. 115), giving an account of "The number of white and black inhabitants," writes that "On the South of the town," "alongside the river.—Higher up in the city up to *Bua Radja* (Bunga Raja), on the other side of the river, there are many Malaccans under Alexander Mendes Captain *Mor* (Major). Some of them work for the Company at the fortifications, and have other occupations as well. They are mostly married and with their wives would come to 120. . . . According to a certain *Malak's Povason* (? Portuguese : povoacao = town, village, to people, population, tribe) there are 15 to 20 houses (under Alexander Mendes) on the river-side, fully two miles from the city (which has not been declared to us); *we presume that there are also many people in other places in the gardens and orchards who have not been enrolled.*"

⁵⁴"The chief village, *Nanningh* (Naning) is subject to Malacca together with the neighbouring villages and hamlets: *Melecque* (Melekek), *Perlingh* (Pereling), *Inar* (Ina ?), *Commoij* (Kemus), *Cherenapoetoe* (Cherana Puteh), *Bataampa* (Batu Ampar), and *Sabangh* (Sebang) about six miles up the river in the valleys there lying between the hills. They are inhabited by *Manicabers* (Menangkabaus) and Malays, who were under Portuguese jurisdiction and after the conquest of Malacca made a covenant as vassals of the Netherlands and the Honourable Company." (Report of Governor Bort, I. cit., p. 55).

⁵⁵The following year, however (1642), "no Portuguese was to visit Naning without a pass from the Temenggong," Jan Jansz Menie. (Negri Sembilan, The History, Polity and Beliefs of the Nine States by R. O. Winstedt, C.M.G., D.Litt., (Oxon.); in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII, Pt. III, (1934), p. 49).

sent in January, 1643,, to re-establish order. Captain Laurens Forsenburg, the Shabandar Menié, with six Dutch soldiers was drawn into an ambush and massacred; the Governor Jeremias Van Vliet, who rushed to their support with all his remaining force, was defeated and obliged to return to Malacca by the river "not without having come through great peril." His chest containing 13000 to 14000 reals fell into the hands of the pursuers.⁵⁶ Elated by this success, the Menangkabau Malays hatched a plot against the Dutch. One of the conspirators, according to the Records of Malacca, (16th August, 1644), "had undertaken to lead 1,000 *Manikabowes* to Malacca, in order to attack and destroy the settlement..... They threatened to murder us in our Council Chamber, and to stop short at no violence against any one who would oppose them." In consequence of these disturbances, "the minor trade of this place has of late been decreasing, the supply of all necessities prevented, and *the plantations along the river-side deserted and abandoned; from fear of the Manikabowes nobody would venture to cultivate their gardens in those places.*"⁵⁷ Malacca and the surrounding states were seized with a panic, and for a long period the Menangkabaus of Naning "advanced in hordes within musket shot of the fort," causing much annoyance to the population, reaching "to the gardens and houses in the vicinity, and destroying the plantations of Bukit China." At last, but not without considerable expense and bloodshed, the Dutch succeeded in restoring tranquility.⁵⁸

It was only on the 8th February, 1645, that an expedition of 350 men, under the command of Secretary Joan Truijtmann and Lieutenant Hans Cruger, left for Rembau and Naning. It resulted in the burning of the Melekek village and the destruction of the orchards and paddy plantations. But as the provisions of the expeditionary corps were exhausted and the enemy could still muster 2,000 combatants, the Dutch had again to retire to Malacca.⁵⁹ At last, in February, 1646, the new Governor, Arnold de Vlammings van Outshorn sent his second with 370 men who reduced Naning to ashes and laid waste its paddy-fields. Once more, however, the expedition had to trudge back to the Fortress for lack of ammunition. This time the Menangkabaus had such a fright that they directed envoys to Malacca to conclude "a lasting peace with the Governor and Council of Malacca," accepting all the conditions enforced upon them by the Company.

⁵⁶Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 61.

⁵⁷"The Dutch were now at war with Rembau and Naning: they feared Johor and Johor feared them. The trade of Malacca decreased and plantations along the river were abandoned." (Winstedt: *Negri Sembilan &c.*, 1. cit., p. 51).

⁵⁸Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements of Malacca, &c., by T. J. Newbold, Esq., Vol. I, pp. 210-13.

⁵⁹Winstedt: *Negri Sembilan &c.*, 1. cit., pp. 51-52. Borts' Report, 1. cit., pp. 62-63.

In September, 1642, an expedition had been sent to explore the forests in which "Malacca people called *Bonuaes* (Benuas) live a savage life, but are not of a cruel temper, making shift with a poor food and raiment for themselves, their wives and children."⁶⁰ The expedition was under the command of the Shabandar Jan Jansz Menie,⁶¹ accompanied by Captain Alexander Mendes and the Malay writer Inche Kader. They left Malacca by river on the 7th September at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and arrived that evening at the little chapel of *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*.⁶² They rested there until 4 o'clock in the morning when, at noonrise, they continued their journey, reaching Pengkalan Naning at 9 a.m. In the "short description or resume" written by Jan Jansz Menie of this expedition, no mention at all is made either of *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca* or of *Nossa Senhora da Guia*; which seems to imply that these chapels and the Portuguese settlements around them were no longer extant and had been destroyed, during the last siege,—if not before, by the Menangkabaus. Schouten, writing about the Churches and chapels outside the walls of the Fortress, says that two only: Our Lady da Guadalupe "on the left hand side of the river about four miles from the city,"⁶³ and St. Jerome's "a mile away from town to the left of the river in the orchard of the Jesuits"⁶⁴ could be repaired "because they are built of stone."⁶⁵ Very likely, *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca*, like the other churches and hermitages, was "made of plank with stone

⁶⁰Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 52.

⁶¹On the 2nd June, 1641, a Sunday, he was married in St. Paul's church by Johannes Loosevelt, "the new-arrived parson," with Dona Isabella da Mora, widow of Manuel da Roger (de Rozario?) "who was the *Tomnagon* (Temenggong) of this city." (The Siege and Capture &c., 1. cit. p. 65).

⁶²*Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe* (Our Lady of Guadeloupe) "This was a noble structure of stone, situated on the left hand side of the river about 4 miles from the city. It had two altars, the high altar was dedicated to the Patrons (Our Lady of Guadalupe) and the other was in the name of St. Amaro. This church had also its vicar....." (Schouten's Report, 1. cit., pp. 91-92). After the capture of Malacca, in 1641, this Hermitage, like all the parish churches of the town and the neighbouring chapels, was "all in ruins owing to the destructive action of the Portuguese, our soldiers, the Malays (of Johore) and the *Manicabers*." (do, p. 112). It was, however, the only chapel, with that of the Hermitage of *S. Jeronymo* which could be repaired "because they are built of stone. They are of no use to the Company unless they are made into residences" (do, p. 132). Of *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe's* chapel, only the foundations remain now. The walls with brick-made ogival windows are quite modern, only some sixty years old. In April, 1937, Mr. H. D. Collings, of the Raffles Museum made excavations on the site of the old chapel, and, "under two feet of earth and broken tiles, etc.," found "two tomb slabs still in position in the chancel floor." (Mr. Collings' letter of 13th April, 1937). One of the slabs had the following inscription: AOVIIAZ—GONSALO—MEZ (Here is lying Goncalo (Go?)mez). The other: AOVIIASYZABE—LNENDESIII—ADEDONCAL—OMENDESED—EZVAMOIH—ER—EIAN—ORMEN—DES (Here is lying Ysabel N(M)endes daughter of D(G)oncalo Mendes and of his wife El(e)anor Mendes). Both slabs bore no dates. *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe* is near the Kampung of Tampoi, at Pengkalan Tampoi.

⁶³Schouten's Report, 1. cit., p. 92.

⁶⁴Schouten's Report, 1. cit., p. 93.

⁶⁵Schouten's Report, 1. cit., p. 132.

pillars,"⁶⁶ and it had been an easy task for the Menangkabaus to pull it down without any trace being left of it. Therefore, the church which, according to the tradition still current among the Malays of the Malacca Pindah district, was built on the top of Bukit Greja "more than two hundred years ago," could not be the primitive one mentioned by Eredia. It was later on, that is, after the people of Malacca had "put up some temporary sheds along the river bank," that a small church was built on the top of the hill, since then known as Bukit Greja, which church was "afterwards replaced by a church built of stone" and covered with a tile roof. Surely the church spoken of by Eredia had no tile roof but only palmleaves, or *atap*, instead. During the Portuguese domination only the most important buildings in the Fortress itself were covered with tiles.⁶⁷

What meaning then is to be given to these words "more than two hundred years ago," used by the Malays of Malacca Pindah as the date for the coming of the Portuguese who built the stone church whose foundations and altar-site "were visible until about thirty years ago?" But, first of all, what motive could have prompted the people of Malacca to revive the old settlement and rebuild the church of Our Lady of Hope except the motive which Governor Balthazar Bort himself gives in his Report, namely the severe persecution launched by him against the Catholic population of Malacca?

Justus Schouten, who had the stamina of a shrewd politician wrote in his Report to the Council of Batavia: "To encourage the present inhabitants to settle down to honest work and to get attached to the Netherlands States, moreover to entice traders and their consorts and to facilitate the surrender of other hostile places, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion should be permitted in a chapel or hermitage, but under certain conditions similar to those laid down with success in Brazil, Pariba, Guiana and other places by the West Indies Company.....our chief aim, in referring to this matter, is to see that Malacca (captured at great cost of material and men) becomes a profitable asset instead of a white elephant to the Company..... There is no certainty that this experiment will bring prosperity to Malacca, but it should be given a good trial for a year or two."⁶⁸ He, however, did not foster the hope that the population would abandon the Catholic faith for Calvinism. "Very few, if any, of the

⁶⁶Schoutens' Report, I. cit., p. 92.

⁶⁷In his description of the Fortress of Malacca, as he saw it in 1580, Padre Visitador Alexandre Valignani, S. J., says that it is a rich place "though the city is small and of no value because the greatest part of the houses are of timber and covered with tree-leaves (*vama*) etc." (*O Oriente Conquistado* a Jesus Christo Pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa, por Padre Francisco de Souza Religioso da mesma Companhia. Lisboa, 1710, 2a. edicao, Bombaim, Na Typografia *Examiner*, 1881, la. Pte, p. 245).

⁶⁸Schouten's Report, I. cit., pp. 138-39.

Malaccan Roman Christians are likely to be converted to the true reformed church even by sermons in the Portuguese language: so much are these poor people blinded by their superstitious ceremonies."⁶⁹

To what extent was the policy of tolerance advocated by Schouten put into practice, or, if seriously given a fair trial, what was its effect? The result was that the Malaccans stuck stoutly to their faith, in spite of the efforts made by Mr. Johannes Loosvelt⁷⁰ and other Ministers to win them over to Calvinism. Moreover, if the advice given by Schouten had been adopted of removing "gently all the remaining superstitious relics of the Roman religion which cause annoyance to us, the reformed Christians, and make Papists persevere in their blindness," the issue could not but have been just the contrary of the one aimed at by the persecutors, even if "some pictures of real miracles etc,"⁷¹ had been tolerated in the temple as a bait to the Catholic Malaccans.

When the famous Jesuit missionary, Father Alexandre de Rhodes, was on his way from Cochinchina to Europe, he passed through Malacca, in 1646. "The Catholics of the country," he wrote in his book of Voyages, "were not allowed the least little chapel while the idolaters had permission to keep a temple at the entrance of the town." Two Jesuits, however, Fathers Stanislaus Torrente an Italian, and Diogo de Oliveira a Portuguese, were stationed outside the walls and gave their ministrations to the Catholics in the town and in the country. The Governor, Heer Arnold de Vlammig van Oudtshoorn, showed the most gracious attentions to the priest, going so far as to invite him often to his own table and granting him all the favours he asked for. "He allowed us," says de Rhodes, "to celebrate Mass publicly for our Catholics, to preach to them our mysteries and even to have a procession in a chapel about two leagues distant from the town"⁷² where that statue of the Virgin is kept which is said to have shed tears before the capture of Malacca by the Dutch."⁷³ Arnold de

⁶⁹Schouten's Report, I. cit., p. 120.

⁷⁰Pastor Loosvelt had succeeded Pastor Johannes Schotanus who was officiating during the siege in the church of St. Thomas in Kampong Chelin (Kling). In a missive, dated Nov. 9, 1640, to the Governor-General and the Council of India, Adriaen Antoniszoon writes of Schotanus: "He will remain in that post and will always be treated with due respect as long as he proves himself worthy of it. So far he has conducted himself very well." (The Siege &c., I. cit., p. 33.).

⁷¹Schouten's Report, I. cit., p. 135.

⁷²Probably the Hermitage of Our Lady da Guadalupe.

⁷³The miraculous statue to which allusion is made here is the statue of Our Lady *dos Remedios*, since called *das Lagrymas*, in the church of St. Stephen in Kampong China. Paulo da Costa (cf. Note 50), Administrator of the see of Malacca, in evidence given at Goa, on the 4th Oct. 1667, said that "it was still well-known to everybody in Malacca that in the year 1622, or 1623, there was such a terrible outbreak of pestilence in the Fortress that many died a sudden death and that the pestilence used to single out for its victims the more robust among the people; also that three days before the Ascension of Our Lord,

Vlaming even promised his help to Father de Rhodes for the repurchase of the sacred vessels which had been stolen at the sack of the town and, many a time, they had long conversations together on religious subjects, because the salvation of his soul was to him the most important thing. "Once," de Rhodes says, "I was pacing one of the big galleries of his house in which some fine pictures were hanging, among them those of St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Francis Xavier."⁷⁴ He asked me to tell him something about their lives, and after I had done so he held my hand and said, as if enraptured by comfort: "I can assure you, Father, that if I was a Catholic, I would enter your Order because I have seen with my own eyes in Japan the great courage which your brethren showed during the horrible tortures inflicted upon them on account of their faith." On the 22nd February, 1646, Father de Rhodes left Malacca for Java.⁷⁵

Three months after the departure of the Rhodes, Governor de Vlaming received instructions from Batavia "to order Malacca to be cleared of all the half-breeds and other Portuguese adherents who refuse to reside there without the right to practice the Romish faith, and to allow each one to depart whither he pleases, so as to prevent all conceivable and unconceivable misdoing by that canaille, whereto the priests will not neglect constantly to play

during May Rogation week, the statue of Our Lady *dos Remedios*, in his chapel of the parish church of St. Stephen, shed tears from the very first day of the week. The event had been at once reported to the Bishop, Don Goncalo da Silva who, immediately commanded trustworthy persons to keep watch in order to verify whether what he had been told was true or not. On the second day, when all were on their watch, the statue began to weep and wept still more on the third day as could be seen by all who were in the church. The Bishop, in a Pastoral Letter, declared authentic the miracles which, for three days, had turned pale the countenance of Our Lady *dos Remedios* in the church of St. Stephen, made Our Lord shed a great abundance of tears, and brought in the heavens mysterious signs which, surely, were an unmistakable prognostication of dreadful punishments threatening the inhabitants of Malacca. He therefore, exhorted the people to do penance for their sins and thus to ward off the avenging arm of their offended God. At a fixed day, Don Goncalo, his clergy and people went in a procession of penance from the Cathedral to the church of St. Stephen. There, a sermon was delivered which brought to the eyes of the auditors bitter tears of contrition and repentance. Then, all of a sudden, the pestilence came to an end and the miraculours arrival of boats with foodstuffs in plenty put a stop to the famine." An official report was made of this miracle in 1622, by order of the Bishop, by Joao Rodrigues, his Vicar General and Chanter of the See. (*Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente* &c., por Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth, Tom. II, p. 234).

⁷⁴Very likely the Residence of the Jesuits near *Na.-Sa. da Graca* (the old church on the hill) which had been chosen, immediately after the capture of Malacca, for the Governor's Palace, and from which Johannes Lamotius and Minne Willemsz Caertekoe dated their first letter addressed to the Council of India which terminated with this subscription: "Written at Malacca in the Monastery of the Paulists." (Name under which the Jesuits were known throughout Portuguese India).

⁷⁵*Voyages et Missions du P. de Rhodes, S. J., Nouvelle edit. conforme a la premiere de 1653. Lille, 1884, Troisieme Partie, Chaps. I & II.*

their peculiar and appointed part.”⁷⁶ In consequence, de Vlammig issued a proclamation on the 12th of the following June, prohibiting the Catholics all public or secret celebrations of their religion and the sojourn at Malacca of the Portuguese clergy. All Catholic priests and monks were given one month’s notice to depart from the territory “unless they will lay aside their priestly habit and clothe themselves like all other citizens and no longer celebrate the very smaller public practice of their religion with the assembling of people together,” all on pain of banishment and such further arbitrary punishment “as may be found suited to the exigencies of the case.”⁷⁷ All buildings where Catholic services had hitherto been held were to be pulled down or changed into dwelling houses. The Malaccans, however, did not comply with the order and continued to gather together for the celebration Mass “notwithstanding the infliction on them of the penalties decreed in the aforesaid proclamation.”⁷⁸

On the same occasion, in the letter of the High Government, Heer de Vlammig was blamed for allowing the passage to Batavia by the Dutch boat *De Vos* of three Jesuits whom he should have kept “till the arrival of their ships and made them depart with these, since they are more mischievous here than in Malacca.” Nevertheless one of them, “a Frenchman,” was allowed to remain in order to go to Goa.⁷⁹ Without doubt this Jesuit Father was Alexandre de Rhodes whom the Dutch arrested on the 28th July, when saying Mass, and put into prison. During the interrogations he was submitted to, they asked him “if it was true that the Governor of Malacca had turned a Papist and made his confession to him.” De Vlammig had, in fact, been denounced to Batavia by the Calvinist Minister on account of his friendly dealings with Father de Rhodes during the latter’s stay at Malacca. This, if we believe de Rhodes, “was the cause of his being deprived of the government of that town to be given that of the Molucas where, they hoped, he would not see priests so often.”⁸⁰

⁷⁶Letter from the High Government of India in Batavia to Heer de Vlammig, dated 22nd May, 1646; Bort’s Report, I. cit., p. 80.

⁷⁷Bort’s Report, I. cit., p. 81.

⁷⁸Bort’s Report, I. cit., p. 82.

⁷⁹Bort’s Report, I. cit., p. 80.

⁸⁰Voyages &c., du P. de Rhodes, I. cit., & Chap. V. According to Valentyn the reason for the transfer of Heer de Vlammig was that, though only acting for Heer Van Vliet *ad tempus*, he “assumed in the meantime the title of Governor (of Malacca), their Honours not only expressed their dissatisfaction in a letter of the 6th December (1646), but told him that Heer Van Vliet still being Governor, he should assume the title henceforward of President only. He was succeeded, in 1648, by Heer Johan Thyssoon Paijart who arrived in Malacca on 22nd November as the fourth Governor, whilst Heer de Vlammig left for Batavia *via* Andragiri on 15th December next by *De Rip* (J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 21, (1890), pp. 240-41).

De Vlamming's proclamation, as Bort tells us, remained a dead letter, or nearly so ; and " the priests continued to persuade our Romish inhabitants to bequeath their property or part of it by testamentary or other disposition to the churches and monasteries, which they have in Goa, their chief place in India, and elsewhere, and also to collect alms."⁸¹ In other words, the Catholic priests continued to celebrate the Mass and administer the Sacraments to their persecuted flock in Malacca.

In 1665 (22nd September), Balthazar Bort succeeded Johan van Riebeck⁸² as Governor of Malacca. On the 15th January, 1666, he " issued, published and affixed a fuller proclamation " against the Catholic religion. Mention is made in this document of " one Fernandus Manuel, who came here in March of last year from *Maccauw* (Macao) and has remained here ever since as an arrogant and defiant asserter of the said Romish religion." At his instigation the Malacca Catholics had erected two atap houses, " one within this northern suburb beside the road to the *bang shall* (bangsal = shed),⁸³ and the other at *Bongerij* (Bonga

⁸¹Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 82.

⁸²Johan Van Riebeck, successor of Heer Paijart ; he arrived in Malacca " on 18th October per the *Slot Honingen* as fifth Governor, but with the title of Commander and President only." On the 16th October, 1665, he introduced Heer Balthazar Bort as the sixth Commander and President and " sailed for Batavia on that very night after an administration of about three years." (Valentyn's Account &c., 1. cit., p. 241). Van Riebeck lost his wife, Maria Quevelferius, in 1664. She was buried according to the custom, in St. Paul's church. Her tombstone is now in Capetown of which Van Riebeck was the founder. It is reproduced in R. N. Bland's book on the Memorial Stones of Malacca, p. 65.

⁸³In the treaty concluded on 15th August, 1641, we read Art. 8 that " any vessels coming with betel from *Naningh* (Naning) are bound to lie before the *Bangshal* (bangsal) and to pay as dues 100 in the 1,000 of said betel leaves " and for the servant of the Shabandar " 100 leaves of each betel sack." In this bangsal the people coming from up river to Malacca had to take their quarters, and the Shabandar was (Art. 9) " under the obligation always to keep a servant in the bangsal to supply the people of the aforesaid boats with pots, platters, waterpots *parang* (*parangh*) to chop their wood, candles or lamps, also two meals, one *schoupa* (that is 1½ lbs.) of rice for each person, and also salt or fresh fish and vegetables in proportion ; further provisioning being, in the case of long delay at the bangsal, at the charge of said persons." In Art. II, it was expressly specified " that said Shabandar or his servants shall not have power to exact betel dues before the price of said leaves has been fixed in the bangsal and the same have been sold in order to prevent loss of the same by damage to said leaves." (Bort's Report, 1. cit., pp. 57-8). In 1664, the Captain and chiefs of Naning complained that Maria Silvens " collector of the customs on sirih (betel leaves) brought from Naning " had not attended " to the usual mode of levying the duty on this article. . . . after receiving the duty, he would detain the people about five days, until the quantity collected by him had been disposed of ; by which means, the Sirih remaining on their hands became unfit for consumption, and consequently not saleable . Through his negligence, the *Bongsal* in which this article is deposited and wherein the Naning people are compelled to take shelter at night has become dilapidated ; nor has he troubled himself in the least to put the building in proper repair for the accomodation of these persons, who were under the necessity of violating the

Raya),⁸⁴ tricked out with pictures and other superstitious ornaments inform of a popish church, and in this said, Portuguese priests have during the holy days (the Holy Week) just past, not only preached but celebrated the idolatrous mass and their Romish worship publicly without scruple before a great concourse of people." This Don Fernandus not only dared resist the officers of justice who came to stop the celebration of Mass but even used seditious language to dissuade "our good inhabitants from the just obedience which they are bound to show us ;" all that, in spite of "the proclamation issued here on June 12, 1646, against the public celebration of the Romish worship." To prevent the return of these *abuses* which he considered "as being superstitious" and could not therefore be allowed "without diminution of God's honour and reproach to our Christian religion here," Bort decreed penalties still more aggravating than those already edicted by Heer de Vlammig. He even went so far as to declare "nul and void all marriages celebrated by the Popish priesthood."⁸⁵

Bort, however, had to confess that his edict of persecution did not much improve the state of affairs, "not, however, to the extent of our being able wholly to purge the territory of Malacca of Romish priests" as they remained in hiding, and continued to say Mass "in remote places both in the jungle and elsewhere. This they still persist in (1678), whenever they can discover a convenient time and occasion therefore."⁸⁶

An unexpected consequence of Bort's proclamation was to reduce "the population of this town (Malacca), by reason of the departure of many Portuguese families and their dependents to other places. They have taken," Bort writes, "with them a good number of black fishermen, and would have carried off the rest if they had not been prevented."⁸⁷ The worsening of the persecution in Malacca brought about by the proclamation of 1666 forced some of the inhabitants, whose poverty prevented them leaving for more tolerant countries, to seek some other means of practicing their religion without any more interference from their persecutors.

We can assume, therefore, in all probability, that it was about or not long after 1666 that the Portuguese Christians of Malacca thought of the old and far-off Hermitage of Our Lady of Hope as a

prescribed rules, by taking up their lodging in different parts of the town, which expedient has been attended with much inconvenience and disagreement amongst the Naning people." (Document dated 27th May, 1664, in the old Dutch Records preserved in the Archives of Malacca, and published by Newbold in his *Political and Statistical Account*, etc., Vol. I, pp. 214-15).

⁸⁴On the left bank of the river, and not far from St. Peter's church, are the remains of a chapel known as *Nossa Senhora do Rosario* (Our Lady of the Rosary). Are these ruins old, or close to, the site of this primitive atap house?

⁸⁵Bort's Report, I. cit., pp. 82-5.

⁸⁶Bort's Report, I. cit., pp. 85-6.

⁸⁷Bort's Report, I. cit., p. 86.

place where they would have a chance of practising their religion freely, so much the more as the Menangkabau Malays, in that part of the territory had had, in the past, friendly relations with Portuguese Malacca, supplying her with foodstuffs, rice, vegetables and cattle, and bartering with her merchants. This, they had been still doing with the Dutch, but, as we have seen already, notwithstanding the covenant signed with Governor Van Vliet, the Menangkabaus of Naning had, in course of time, evinced a stubborn indiscipline which was to lead them to open rebellion against and to independence from the Company. In his Report, J. Schouten expressed the opinion "that the villages (of Naning and Rengek) will remain in peace hereafter if the are treated as the Portuguese treated them." All the Governors had the same opinion and acted accordingly because "they had a great need of showing a good balance sheet to their Directors," and it seemed to them that "the quickest way to that end was by the application of a system of strict monopoly in the trade of the more important articles of commerce."⁸⁸ They, therefore, imposed on the neighbouring states contracts by which they obtained privileges at the expense of these states, but preventing thereby the establishment of cordial relations. "Even with their near neighbours of Naning," remarks Mr. Blagden, "the Dutch of Malacca could not find a comfortable *modus vivendi*. The position there was somewhat anomalous. Alone of all the states of the Peninsula, Naning was definitively a vassal state under the Dutch, just as it had been under their predecessors the Portuguese. At the back of Naning lay its close connections, the other little Menangkabau States, which were nominally under the suzerainty of Johor. But in Naning and these other Menangkabau States a new leaven was working: some sort of nationalist feeling had sprung up and there was a tendency at this time to establish a Menangkabau kingdom, such as later on took shape under the title of Negri Sembilan."⁸⁹ To Bort the *Manicabers* were "an idle, sluggish, lazy, faithless and perfidious race."⁹⁰

In spite of the insecurity of the situation, some Malacca people were still settled in orchards and gardens along the river. In a list established by Bort, in 1678, we find that a garden at *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe* belonged to *Francisca Menesis*

⁸⁸Bort's Report, Introduction by C. O. Blagden, 1. cit., p. 2.

⁸⁹Bort's Report, Introduct., 1. cit., p. 4. In his Report, Bort writes: "By reason of the recent *Manicaber* war, provisions, not only pigs, fowls and ducks, but all kinds of vegetables, have become so scarce and dear that the ships when lying here in the roads have had to do without the ordinary issues. However the breeding of cattle and the sowing and planting of devastated orchards having begun again to improve, we hope that with your Honour's rule there will be no lack so that the necessary fresh provisions may be issued to the ships' crews (do, 1. cit., p. 105). Again (do, p. 177): "All enmity must be avoided (with the Johorites), as far as possible, especially as we are now at war with the *Manicabers*, so as to give them no cause for going to the assistance of the latter."

⁹⁰Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 68.

(Menezes); that three others situated at *Tualan* (To' Alang), *Poelo* (Pulo where the Franciscans of Bukit China had built the *Ermida de Nossa Senhora da Guia*) and *Matchap* (Machap) were the property of Christoffel Barbier; at *Belimbin* (Belimbing), Sr. Jan Roosdom, at *Pantjoor* (Panchor) Manuel Velho, and *Nicolaas Basteij* (Bastiao) at *Tanna Mera* (Tanah Merah) had also some lands. As for the Honourable Company it possessed nine gardens or orchards, amongst them one at *Morlaccapinda* (Malacca Pindah). These gardens of the Company "were granted in the fruiting season to the poor inhabitants, who have one half of the fruit for their own and hand over the other to the Honourable Company."⁹¹

In Mr. Dias' account, we are told that on the arrival of the boats from Malacca, "the village people were surprised at such a spectacle. They rushed towards the banks of the river to see the newcomers. They questioned each other as to the meaning of the great turn-out. One of the Malay elders replied "Malacca Pindah" which means "Removal of Malacca", hence this particular village is still called "Malacca Pindah."⁹²

The *Morlaccapinda* of Bort's Report and the *Malacca Pindah* near Bukit Greja are undoubtedly one and the same place and it is evident that Bort's wrong spelling of the name proves that he had not the least idea of its meaning. The place where the Catholics lived in hiding was known, indeed, to Governor Bort, but he was quite unaware of their presence there. In fact he mentions only "the lands called *Merlimoen* (Merlimau) *Ringij* (Rengek) and *Cassan* (Kesang)" where "Black Christians of the Roman Catholic faith live" with Malays and Bugis "earning a livelihood in the main from rice plantations."⁹³ From this ignorance of Bort we can infer that the Malaccan refugees of Malacca Pindah settled, not on the "gardens and orchards" of the Honourable Company, but on lands of their own.

Be that as it may, the fugitives landed at the foot of Bukit Greja where they were given a friendly welcome by the Malays. In course of time the colony must have become important as, according to the information given to Mr. Dias, the priests "got another piece of land lower down the hill, and constructed a large building or monastery (rather a presbytery) which housed them and some of the people.....It was not an unusual thing for some people of Malacca to go to the church in boats for *sombahiang*," that is, to hear Mass. What the Malay elder says here

⁹¹Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 51.

⁹²According to C. O. Blagden, in the Notes accompanying Bort's Report, "Melaka Pindah (literally, "Malacca removed"), is "the name of an affluent of the Malacca river and hence of a *mukim* or village on its banks situated about 11 miles N. of Malacca town." (1. cit., p. 221). The origin attributed to the name of the place by the village elder, here, recalls the origin given to the name 'Menangkabau': menang kerbau.

⁹³Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 51.

in confirmed by Father Premare, S.J., who, bound for China on board the French ship *Amphitrite*, landed at Malacca in the beginning of September, 1698: "There are mosques for the Moors," he wrote, "a temple dedicated to the idols of China, in short, the practice of all sorts of sects is allowed by the Dutch. The true religion alone is forbidden. Catholics are obliged to go far into the interior of the forests to celebrate the sacred mysteries,"⁹⁴ that is the Mass. For many years the priests at Bukit Greja had to live in hiding, dressed like their people and, perhaps, tilling the soil. They had to be very cautious for in case of detection they would have been "kept in custody and sent away at the first opportunity."⁹⁵ The stone church covered with tiles must have been erected after the open revolt of the Menangkabaus when any inland journey for the Dutch was unsafe. It is not possible to say how long the Malaccan refugees remained at Malacca Pindah and the church there was used as a place of worship by the people of the town. The oldest church register, a Death Register, which is kept in the old Portuguese church of St. Peter at Malacca, opens with the name of one Molinau, French "pilot of the shallop of Antonio Correa of Ligor" who died on the 20th January, 1787, that is about the time when the persecution abated and the church of St. Peter was erected. We may suppose also that the Catholics left *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca* to return to Malacca where they built the church still standing on the left bank of the river at Bunga Raya, and designated on an old map as 'the Old Portuguese Church,' (*Nossa Senhora do Rozario*), and that in the second part of the XVIII century, Catholic worship being tolerated in Malacca, and the priests no longer obliged to lead a life of outlaws, *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca* was abandoned again and, this time, for good.

* * * *

Another piece of information delivered to Mr. Dias, and of great interest, is that "many of the Orang Bukit (aborigenes)⁹⁶ were converted to Christianity and lived in Bukit Panchor (Forest

⁹⁴Letter dated : Canton, 17th Febr., 1699 ; to the Rev. Father de la Chaise. S.J., Confessor of the King (Louis XIV) ; in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses ; Memoires de la Chine*. M.DCCC.XIX, Tome IX, pp. 215 and ss.

⁹⁵Bort's Report, I. cit., p. 86.

⁹⁶The term 'aborigenes' used when speaking of the wild tribes inhabiting the south of the Malay Peninsula is, of course, inaccurate. The Jakuns are invaders from the Archipelago and, in consequence must be considered ethnographically as belonging to the Malaysian stock. For that reason, they are classified as proto-Malays who, at an unknown date, crossed to the Peninsula before the coming of the Muhammedism and rather than accept it, when it was introduced, preferred to retire into the forests of the interior. In his description of Malacca, its territory and inhabitants, Joao de Barros says of the Jakuns: "In the interior there are very few villages. Most of this miserable people sleep at the top of the highest trees they can find, because the tigers snap them by jumping to a height of 20 palms ; and if anything can save this poor people from them, it is the blazing fires at night of which they are much afraid." (De Asia, Dec. II, Pte. I, Liv. VI, Cap. I, (Edition M.DCC.LXX.VIII), p. 23.

Reserve on the Malacca Pindah—Machap Road), where they planted a lot of fruit trees including durians, limes, etc.” Mr. Dias adds that “some large durian-trees are still on the land.” I do not think that the longevity of the yew in Europe can be ascribed to the Malayan durian-tree; surely the trees in question cannot reasonably claim some 160 years of life.

In his Account of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra and a Few Neighbouring Islands, published in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia (Vol. II, No. V, May, 1849, p. 237), Father Favre, of the Paris Foreign Missions, who travelled throughout Johore, Malacca and part of the Negri Sembilan territories, relates that amongst the wild tribes settled near Malacca he found a tradition “which would make them the descendants of Portuguese.”

“A few months after my arrival here,” he writes, “an inhabitant of Malacca, in order to satisfy my curiosity, brought me two of these Jakuns, as specimens of the race; it was not without considerable difficulty that he could induce these children of nature to accompany him ; but after several promises, they took their way to Malacca; and collecting a tradition they had received, as they say, from their forefathers, they asked that, on arrival at the town, they be allowed to look at the likeness of their ancestors which could be found at the upper part of the door (gate) of the Fortress. And, in fact, upon the old gate which remains until this day as a remembrance of the ancient fort, are seen sculptured figures representing a king and queen of Portugal. Many others whom I questioned on the same subject assured me that they were descendants of *Orang Puti* (Puteh), that is of Europeans.

“Several persons have related to me that the report exists that at different times, descendants of Europeans, after having committed crimes, had fled into the interior of the Peninsula and established themselves there in order to avoid punishment of the laws. Besides, I remarked that these Jakuns of whom I speak now, have the general appearance, the lineaments, and chiefly the form and the colour of the body entirely similar to those of the common and low-class people amongst the Portuguese of Malacca. *A small number of Portuguese words* they use would also seem further to direct our attention to that opinion, so that it would not be possibly far from the truth to call them the descendants of Portuguese, at least by their fathers’ side who, in imitation of *Tu Pattair* may have taken to themselves wives from amongst the Jakun damsels.”⁹⁷

⁹⁷Newbold: Political and Statistical Account &c., Vol. II, p. 77; quoted by Favre in his Account &c., (J.I.A., p. 237 & ss.), says that when Sri Iskander Shah (Parameshwara, a noble man from Java), fled from Singapore to Malacca in the XIII cent. of the Christian era (in 1402 or the beginning of 1403 according to van Stein Callenfels, ‘The founder of Malacca’, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XV, Pt. II, (1937), p.165) “a Menangkabau chief, named Tu Pattair, came

Were these Jakuns, mentioned by Father Favre, really of Portuguese origin, at least by their father's side? The hypothesis can reasonably be held if we recall that at the end of the Lusitanian ascendancy in Malaya, the garrisons of the Moluccas and Malacca itself were recruited chiefly from the dregs of the populace in Portugal and, that on account of their paltry pay, they had to lead wretched lives. That a number of these soldiers whose abject condition has been so vividly described by do Couto,⁹⁸ Pyrard de Laval⁹⁹ and Linschoten,¹⁰⁰ might have taken refuge in the *maquis* after some capital offence against the law, and settled for good either in far-away Menangkabau kampongs where they turned Muhammadans, or in the depths of the forests among the Jakuns, is by no means in the present case, a preposterous hypothesis. We, however, consider the Malay version picked up by Mr. Dias at Belimbing as being nearer to the truth than the information received by Father Favre from the Malacca people.

The two Jakuns who were brought to him asked that they should be allowed to see the portraits of their ancestors on the top of the old gate. Now, we must point out that at the time of the Portuguese domination, each gate of the Fortress had, carved on the top of its arch, the name by which it was called. The gate in question, actually known as the Old Gate, near the Malacca Club, bore, therefore, engraved on its top the name of *Santiago* (St. James). Only after the fall of the town to the Dutch, was this gate repaired and decorated with the Dutch East Indies Company's coat-of-arms and its two allegorical figures as supporters, "representing," as Favre thought, "a king and a queen of Portugal" and considered by the Jakuns to be "the likeness of their ancestors."

In his Report, written in 1678,¹⁰¹ Bort informs his successors, Heer Jacob Jorisz Pits, Councillor Extraordinary of India, that some new works "were made to the Fortress, *e.g.*, two strong stone gates, one . . . on the river side, and the other between the bastions Wilhelmus and Henrietta Louijse¹⁰² on the land side . . . They were made in 1669 because the gates in existence here, when I came, were old, and inadequate for this fine strong fort. The gate on the land side, close to the bastion Wilhelmus (old St. James)

over to Malacca, attended by a numerous retinue. He ascended the river (of Malacca?) to Naning, where he found no other inhabitants than the Jakuns, and settled at Taba (Tabu or Tabok) and took to wife one of the Jakun Damsels; an example speedily followed by his vassals."

⁹⁸De Asia, Dec. V, Liv. II, Cap. III.

⁹⁹Pyrard de Laval: Pyrard's Voyages, Hackluyt Soc. edit. Vol. II, pp. 128-31).

¹⁰⁰The Voyages of John Huyghen van Linschoten, Hackluyt Soc. edit., 1885, Vol I, pp. 199 & ss.

¹⁰¹*l. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁰²Known in the Portuguese times as the bastions of *Santiago* (St James) and of the *Onze Mil Virgens* (the Eleven Thousand Virgins).

I found blocked," which probably means 'crumbled' as I suggested in my paper on Portuguese Malacca,¹⁰³ as a result of the heavy bombardment which half destroyed the town during the siege of 1641.

From all this we must come to the conclusion that the *ancestors* of these two Jakuns, either Portuguese or Black Malaccans, who fled from Malacca to settle at Malacca Pindah and took Mantra women "in imitation of Tu Pattair," must have left only after the restoration of the Santiago gate by Bort, when the coat-of-arms of the Company supported by the two famous ancestors had taken place, on the top of the arch, of the name of Santiago.¹⁰⁴

These ancestors who fled from Malacca "more than two hundred years ago" with their priests and sacred vessels were certainly not European castaways in quest of a refuge "after having committed crimes." They were Catholics in quest of a hiding-place where they could peacefully practise their religion, which had been made impossible to them at Malacca. This, at least, is a conjecture I propose as an explanation of the legend still current among the Malay rayot of the Alor Gajah district.

That some Orang Bukit became Christians is likely, though not certain. Those of the Mantra women who intermarried with the settlers of Malacca Pindah had, of course, to embrace Christianity. To say that there were many of them, however, seems rather exaggerated. Moreover we may suppose that these women followed their husbands to Malacca once the Catholic religion was again tolerated there. To admit that some of the Mantras are descendants of Portuguese because Favre met two or more individuals who had heard of the symbolic figures on the old gate which they called the "portraits of their ancestors," does not carry conviction. Not many years before Bort wrote his Report, "the *Benuaes* used in the time of the fruit harvest to come here and even in the Fort, but could not be persuaded to remain, although presents of rice and clothes were given to them. For some years past," Bort remarks, "they have not been seen; it is said that they have retreated further into the interior, because the *Manicabers* were constantly trying to capture them off and keep them in bondage."¹⁰⁵

In his classification of the Benua tribes, the Mantras who "are living near Malacca" are placed by Favre in the first subdivision. He met them "near *Reim* (Rim), at *Ayor Baro* (Ayer Barok), *Gassing* (Jasin?), *Kommender* (Kemmdore), *Bukit Sinshi* (Bukit Senggeh)," and also Ayer Panas. He describes them as being "generally as tall as the common run of Europeans; . . . more dark than any other of the wild tribes that fell under my

¹⁰³J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII, Pt. II, (1934), p. 21.

¹⁰⁴The date '1670' engraved on the top of the arch is the date of the gate's completion.

¹⁰⁵Bort's Report, I. cit., p. 52.

inspection ; and in which respect I do not see any difference between them and the more black of the Indo-Portuguese of Malacca I have already said that I have generally found a peculiar resemblance between these two classes of men."¹⁰⁶ Favre goes on, giving anthropological informations of these Mantras, and winds up with the rather startling remark "that many of these Jakuns differ from the Indo-Portuguese of Malacca in the frizzled look of the hair." Which denotes that strains of Semang blood were not uncommon among the Jakuns of the Malacca territory in Favre's time.¹⁰⁷

The mention made by Favre that "a small number of Portuguese words" were still employed in their conversation by these descendants of Portuguese cannot either be accepted as a convincing proof as to their supposed origin. Besides, he did not collect a list of these words, an omission the more to be regretted as it deprives us of a precious clue. Such a list would either have been formed of names of things in common use in bartering between the Malacca merchants and the Mantras, and consequently, insufficient to justify Favre's theory and classification ; or it would have included Portuguese Christian and family names and terms of religion, even under a degenerate form, and thus the proof would have been well established that a more intimate intercourse than the one created by trade existed between the Malaccans and the Jakuns.

In his *Hikayat* Munshi Abdullah refers to an excursion he made with Lieutenant Newbold and Bertchi (Bachi = Baba Kechil) Westerhout to Gunong Panchor "to see the Jakuns." The object of this trip was to get information about the life, language, customs and religion of this people. "I had," he says, "a small book prepared, filled up with words, like a vocabulary, of which the Malays have no name ; so I asked the names of this and that, which they told me, *in a mixture of Malay and Portuguese*. We went on till I came to the name of God, whom they called *Deus*. This certainly was a sign that their origin had been from the Portuguese, at the time they took Malacca from the Malays ; but how had they

¹⁰⁶In a paper, read at a meeting of the R.A.S., at Singapore on the 3rd June, 1878, N. Von Mikluho Maclay relates a visit he made at Ayer Salak to the Mantra Catholic Mission founded by Borie, in 1847. "Their language," he says, "has been forgotten and has been replaced by the Malay, in which all their school books and religious works are written. The missionaries have done nothing to collect the remains of the old language. The Mantras whom I saw (most of them children and women) were almost without exception of a Malay type ; if I had come to see them without knowing that they were Mantras, I should probably have taken them for a number of Malays, badly fed, and brought up in a miserable condition, and I should have doubted the possibility of any mixture of Melanesian blood." An opinion quite different as to their origin from Favre's opinion. (J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 1, (1878), pp. 218-19).

¹⁰⁷I also have met two Jakun girls with frizzled hair at Ayer Salak, the old Mantra Station ; the features, however, were rather of the Jakun than the Semang type.

been scattered into the jungles? This occurred probably when Malacca was again conquered by the Dutch and Malays acting in concert (1641); and there yet remains a Portuguese Church at *Pangallan Tampui* (Pengkalan Tampo) ¹⁰⁸ as well as a graveyard in the big forest in the interior of Malacca, with stones engraved with Portuguese letters, which are written like Malay or any other language. All this subject I have argued to exhaustion, and my conclusion is that the Jakuns are descended from the Portuguese." ¹⁰⁹ This theory, originated, it seems, by Munshi Abdullah, was generally admitted in Malacca and shared by Father Favre, Abdullah's contemporary. The list of Jakun words compiled by the famous Munshi was never published. Abdullah wrote it at a time when Newbold was absent, gone for his tiffin. Messrs Skeat and Blagden, in their *Pagan Races*, explain as follows the reasons which rendered impossible its publication. "It seems probable that Abdullah noted them (the Jakun words) in the Arabic characters which he would naturally use as being the one most familiar to him, though he was acquainted with the Roman alphabet as well. If that is so, it may be readily imagined that when the words came to be transliterated into the Roman characters, which may have happened some days or even weeks later, when Abdullah had probably quite forgotten what they sounded like, mistakes were very likely to be made." ¹¹⁰

Father P. H. Dumoulin-Borie, like Favre a member of the Paris Foreign Missions, who accompanied him in some of his expeditions in the south of the Malay Peninsula and, with his help, opened a Catholic Mission amongst the Mantras, in 1847, does not make any allusion to the presence in their dialect of Portuguese words. The first station was established by him at Rumbia, three and a half miles south of Bukit Greja. In his book 'La Presqu'île de Malacca, les Malais et les Sauvages,' Borie remarks that as the dialects spoken by different Mantra people were unfit to express religious concepts, his new converts were the first to ask that the language to be used for religion should be the Malay language which was familiar to all the Orang Bukit. In the Catechism of Christian Doctrine, composed by Favre, only a few Portuguese words—Domingo = Sunday, Sancto Papa = the Pope, have been introduced. In Favre's opinion, the Jakun people of the Menangkabau States were more learned in divinity, and he rightly attributed their knowledge of God the Creator, of Adam the first Man, and the names of a few personages of the Old Testament "in a very

¹⁰⁸Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe.

¹⁰⁹Translations from the Hakayit Abdullah (bin Abdulkader) Munshi, with Comments, by J. T. Thomson, F.R.G.S., 1874, pp. 27 & ss.

¹¹⁰Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, by W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, Vol. II, Appendix, Pt. IV, Language, pp. 485-86.

¹⁰⁸'Pengajaran Mesehi Terpendek' (Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine); the first edition was published in 1844 at Paris by Delacour and Marchand, 94, Rue de Sevres. For many years it has been published by the Foreign Missions Printing Office, Pokfulum, Hongkong.

confuse way" to their more frequent communications with the Malays. "The most ignorant in religious matters," he states, "are those of Malacca," the very same people whom he, and Munshi Abdullah, believed to be of Portuguese descent! "They have not amongst them," he says, "a single religious practice, and not only do they not practice exterior forms of worship, but from inquiries from them I find that they have not the slightest feeling either of thankfulness or of love for the Being that they call their creator."¹¹¹ He never "found amongst them any knowledge of Christ nor of the Christian religion." On the other hand, Borie discovered that, "not only did they have an idea of the Divinity, but also that at the last moment, when man passes from this life to eternity, they cried to God and," he adds, "what surprised me more, to Our Saviour Jesus Christ. It is the custom among those Mantras most versed in ancient traditions to address God and Jesus when a person is seriously ill. A near relative of the sick person then generally says: "Lord Jesus, if it is thy will that he should live have pity on him, give him back his health." From this moment," Borie says, "all superstitions are at an end, and when the sick person's last hour has come, the same person, addressing an Angel, says: "Oh thou, who art the Angel of my grand-father and great-grand-father, protect him from the evil spirit and lead him to heaven." He, also, found amongst those Mantras an idea of the creation of man and of his fall. "The Mantras," he reports, "imagine man to have descended from two white *ungka puteh*.....But I have also heard other savages contradict this statement and say that God, having created in Heaven a *Batin* as their first king and father, gave him a consort, that from that king and queen all the tribes of the Peninsula descended, and that, struck with the beauty of the banks of the river Johor (near Singapore), they came down into this place and took up their abode there."¹¹²

¹¹¹Favre: An Account &c.

¹¹²"I remember hearing several savages relate seriously that they all descended from two white monkeys *Ungka Puteh*. The two *ungka puteh*, after giving birth to their little ones betook themselves to the plains. Here they improved themselves and their descendants so much that they became men; on the other hand, those who returned to the mountains remained monkeys.....But I have also heard other savages contradict this statement, and say that monkeys are no other than fallen men." (An Account of the Mantras, a Savage Tribe in the Malay Peninsula, by the Rev. Fr. H. Borie, in J.I.A., Vol. II, No. V, May 1848, pp. 237 & ss. Re-edited in "Trubner's Oriental Series, Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, Second Series, Vol. I, p. 286; translated from the 'Tijdschrift voor Indische taal land en volkenkunde', Vol. X, (1861), pp. 431-443. A translation of the greater part of this paper, without reference to its source, appeared in Vol. III of the 'Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London', New Series, pp. 72-83, under the title 'On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula,' by Pere Bourien (*sic*). "The present translation," it is said, "has been made from a copy reviewed by the author. A few pages have been omitted." This paper is taken from the book 'La Presqu'île Malaise, les Malais et les Sauvages' par le P. H. D. Borie, Tulle.' Most of the matter is a mere translation from that book.

"According to the Mantras," Borie goes on, "there is a supreme God, spiritual, good, perfect, almighty and Creator who lives in the Heavens. He created Raja Brahil, a spirit like his creator, the first after God who gave him authority over man, hence his name (?). By order of God he created Adam and Hava, the animals and plants in the heavens. Adam and Hava had 6,666 persons as descendants. The Heavens being too small for all this people, Raja Brahil by order of God created the world. God only can make everything out of nothing, he gave Raja Brahil the substance of a world of the size of an areca-nut, with which the world was created. Raja Brahil came from the heavens to take a survey of his work, then returned to the heavens from where the fishes, birds, plants and animals came down by turns. Man alone had multiplied and Raja Brahil had only created a pair of each kind that propagates itself. It is at that period, according to traditions, one has to fix the descent of the first Batin and his consort who established their residence along the river of Johore. Thus," Borie sums up, "according to the Mantras, God who resides only in the heavens created the firmament and Raja Brahil, who is not God, although he is the first after Him, and His spirit, as well as His creature. Thereupon Raja Brahil created the world according to the order described above."

From all these legends he collected among the Mantra tribes living near Malacca, Borie drew the conclusion that, at one time, they must have been in touch with Christianity, and though he did find "nothing about them which has the semblance of outward worship, it seems that at a far distant time they knew how to pray ; at least this is always asserted by those I have asked about this subject. The religious books they have lost agreed in every respect with the religion of Raja Brahil, whom, like the Malays, they still call *Nabi Isa*, *Tuhan Isa*, the Prophet Jesus. This pretension of the identity of their ancient religion with that of Jesus Christ, extraordinary as it may seem at first is nevertheless not devoid of some foundation." And Borie launches out into a theory by which he tries to prove that the Mantras were converted by Arian (no, *Nestorian*) missionaries as early as the VI or the VII century. "It may be supposed," he says again, "that these abettors of heresy took up their abode in Further India, proceeding to Tartary and Mongolia ; at least this is what the analogy taken from Mantra traditions seems to prove."¹¹³ The spread-

¹¹³Borie : *La Presqu'île Malaise* &c., I. cit. In 'Pagan Races', Messrs. Skeat and Blagden have already signalled the mistake made by Borie on the origin of the Biblical notions he found among the Mantras. But the accusation levelled against him of being one of "those who (generally, I am sure, in all good faith) read into their observations the religious ideas by which they are most interested" is undeserved. Borie was but an "ordinary untrained observer," and the unsoundness of his theory is so flagrant that it strikes the reader at once. Borie is regularly quoted by Skeat and Blagden "Borie (tr. Bourien)," that is, 'translated by Bourien'. They could not make out that *Bourien* is a typographical mistake for *Borie* ; that's all. (*Pagan Races* &c., Vol II, pp. 173-74 and footnotes pp. 444, 446 and 447).

ing of Nestorianism among the Mantras is a theory which cannot hold water. Much more simple and more likely is it to attribute the hazy knowledge of Christian beliefs which Borie thought he had found among the Mantras, to their habitual intercourse with the Muhammadan Malays. Moreover it is not likely that the missionaries from Goa, who took charge of the colony of black Malaccans at Bukit Greja, had many conversions among the Jakuns; at the most they taught and baptized those few who intermarried with the members of their flock and when religious peace was restored in Malacca, those women followed their husbands to the town. In case some Jakun converts remained at Malacca Pindah, or in its surrounding forests, they were surely not left without the spiritual ministrations of their priests. Even if things had gone that worse, their descendants would for a long time have preserved a noticeable amount of Portuguese words to express abstract and religious notions; they would even have kept some Christian practices.

The Mantra cosmogony, as described by Borie, is nothing else but a tissue of Mantra fables interwoven with a few Biblical reminiscences borrowed from Islam.¹¹⁴ In spite of his researches about the origin and signification of the name 'Raja Ibrahim', Borie had to confess that he failed utterly to procure a satisfactory explanation. He formed the opinion that the aborigenes (the Jakuns) of the Peninsula considered this personage as being the same as the Isa of the Arabs,—i.e., Our Lord Jesus Christ robbed of his divine nature. He even went so far as to suppose that "the Brahili might possibly be the Brama of India."¹¹⁵

The truth in all this is that Raja Ibrahim is the Archangel Gabriel (Jibrail), who acts as the messenger between God and the Apostles, according to the Muhammadans. The prayer, therefore, of the sick man's relative was addressed, not to Jesus Christ as Son of God and God Himself, but to the Nabi Isa, one of the "Jewish prophets" adopted by the Moslem faith. And when the Angel of the grand-father and the great-grand-father was called to the help of the dying man, it was neither the Nabi Isa nor Raja

¹¹⁴The creation of man and woman in heaven is also found in other Jakun tribes; the existence of books (religious) and the legend that in the olden times people could read is a belief we met with even among the Semangs; they will tell you also that it is not Karei (or Kaei), their god, who has created the universe. To quote Dr. Paul Schebesta: "Is Karei, the supreme god of the Semangs, considered by them as the Creator of the universe? No, it is his son Tapedn, who made all things. Do not suppose, however, that Tapedn, because he has achieved the magnificent and wonderful work of creation, is superior to his father. According to the concepts of the Semangs, if Karei is not the god creator, the reason is that the great lord that he is could not decently take such a big trouble and humble himself to undertake such a labourious enterprise. And, who made man? do you ask again. You are too inquisitive; for an answer you get a shrugging of the shoulders; nobody knows and nobody cares a straw about it." (Les Etudes. Schebesta: Les Négrilles de la Presqu'île Malaise. Tom 181, No. 20, 20 Oct., 1924, p. 219).

¹¹⁵Borie, La Presqu'île Malaise &c., l. cit.

Brahil (the Angel Gabriel) who were invoked, but the angel Michael whose office, according to the Mussalmans, is to bring the soul, when it departs from the body, back to God. I have to thank the Hon. Capt. N. Ashim, M.C.S., for the much-needed aid he kindly gave me in unravelling this little theological tangle.

Of all that has been said, we must, therefore, conclude that the religious knowledge about Allah, Raja Brahil, etc., which Borie noticed among the Mantras was not, as he thought, of Christian importation, but introduced by a frequent and secular intercourse with the Malays.

* * * *

At the time of my visit to Bukit Greja, I did not remember the existence in previous days of the old Portuguese settlement and chapel of Our Lady of Hope, near Pangkalan Naning. But the narrative of the old village elder to Mr. V. E. Dias recalled to my mind what I had already read in Bort's Report, in the Rhodes' Voyages and the passage in Premare's letter to Fr. de la Chaise, concerning the conditions of the Catholic Malaccans under the Dutch domination. Munshi Abdullah's theory (that the Jakuns near Malacca were of Portuguese descent) adopted by Favre who even tried to prove its soundness anthropologically, and the 'Arian' (*Nestorian*) origin assigned by Borie to certain beliefs current among his Mantras, induced me to examine the correlations which surely existed between the Malay tradition about Bukit Greja on the one hand and the Portuguese and Dutch writers on the other; and also to weigh the arguments in favour of or against the assertion made by the old village elder that, in the Panchor district, "many Orang Bukit were converted to Christianity." Have any traces ever been found of these conversions amongst these tribes? Never.

My conclusions on these two points are as follows:—

ABOUT BUKIT GREJA.—I propose to consider Bukit Greja as being the site of Our Lady of Hope and of the old Portuguese settlement which existed there at the end of the XVI. cent., as early as 1586, in which year Diogo de Azambuja was sent to punish the Menangkabaus of Naning who had laid waste the said settlement, and also, very likely, the neighbouring one of *Nossa Senhora da Guia*, property of the Franciscans of the *Madre de Deus*. The perusal of Eredia's map and of a modern map shows that *Nossa Senhora da Esperanca* and Bukit Greja are one and the same place. From 1613 onwards, until Governor Bort's time, we can only make guess-work about the existence of this chapel and its surrounding colony. Then it was that the 'Malacca Pindah', the 'Removal of Malacca', of the Malay legend happened, that the Malaccan refugees and their priests came back, rebuilt the chapel and re-settled in the old place. They surely did not make choice

of *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe* ¹¹⁶ which was too close to the Fortress and could not, for that very reason, be a safe hiding place. The farther was the place situated, the safer would it prove to be ; and the Malaccans went to the ancient site of Our Lady of Hope, among the Menangkabau Malays more hostile than ever to the Dutch domination.

ABOUT CONVERSIONS TO CHRISTIANITY AND THE PORTUGUESE DESCENT OF THE MALACCA JAKUNS.—Conversions amongst the Orang Bukit, if any, must have taken place only on the occasions of intermarriages between Malaccans and Mantra girls. This explains why no trace of Christianity is to be found either in their language or in their customs. The few and hazy notions of Biblical origin noted by Borie must be attributed to their intercourse with Muhammadan Malays. As to their Portuguese ancestry, it is but a myth accredited by Munshi Abdullah who pretended to have identified many Portuguese words in their language. If any of this wild people had been converted to Catholicism by Portuguese priests or, *a fortiori*, if any of them were descendants from Portuguese refugees, something should have remained of their Catholicism, of their Lusitanian culture. I consider their somatic description given by Favre as of no weight. Favre was a distinguished Malay scholar and lexicographer ; he was not an anthropologist.

POSTSCRIPT.—After my paper on Bukit Greja had been sent to the Editor of this Journal, Mr. H. D. Collings of the Raffles Museum told me that the *Sēmēlai* ¹¹⁷ tribe of Pahang, who live on both sides of the Tasek Běra and along the Triang and Sěrting rivers, have a special sytem for counting money. They count by *sen* or *duit*, *kupang*, *mos*, *pahak*, and *rial*, and use the Malay numerals instead of their own.

According to Mr. Collings the *Sēmēlai* counts as follows : satu *sen* or *duit* ; dua *sen*, etc. : 25 cents = 1 *kupang* and 50 cents = dua *kupang*, etc. ; then sa *mos* (dollar), dua and tiga *mos* ; sa *pahak* (= 4 *mos*), lima *mos* ; enam *rial* (Portug. *real*), tujuh *rial* etc.

Antonio Nunes, Comptroller of Finances and Commissar for the Accounts and Finance in India, writes in his *Book of*

¹¹⁶In 1675, a column of 53 soldiers and men was formed by Bort to go up the river against Malays who were kidnapping both free men and slaves from Malacca and its surroundings. Bort advised Lieut. Hendrick Temmers, its commander, to choose for his headquarters "the place called *Agua da Loupa* (a *Guadalupe*), situated about four miles up the river where there is a narrow tongue of land stretching into the middle of the river." (Bort's Report, 1. cit., p. 77). *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*, being easy of access to the Dutch, could not then be for the Catholics a secure hiding-place.

¹¹⁷Of the *Sēmēlai* Mr. Collings says that physically they are very mixed with Negrito, proto-Malay, pre-Davidian and Pareocean elements.

Weights, Measures and Monies &c.,¹¹⁸ that at Malacca "4 mas (Semel. mos) = 1 *pauai* (Semel. *pahak*) and 1 mas = 4 *kuban* (Mal. *kupang*)."

The *Trade Dollar* or *Spanish silver Peso of Eight Reals* (generally known as the *Piece of Eight* by Europeans and *Ringget Miriam*¹¹⁹ by the Malays) "was the earlier *Piastre de Commerce* struck specially by a European nation for use in its Eastern mercantile adventures." The Dutch silver Dollar "failed to compete successfully with the Spanish and Hispano-American Dollars which, coined in enormous numbers were, at the end of the XVIth Cent., and indeed until well the XIXth Cent., the accepted currency in all Oriental trading centres controlled or frequented by Europeans."¹²⁰

The *Spanish pieces of Eight* or *Pesos of Eight Reals* which are called by Richard Hackluyt "*Roiials of Plate*" (Span. *plata*, Portug. *Prata*) "are excellent silver and current in divers places of India, and chiefly in Malacca."¹²¹

The Sēmēlai told Mr. Collings that they formerly lived in the Nēgri Sēmbilan, that is to say near, or even on, the Malacca territory. The fact of their having kept in use the system of counting in *kupang*, *mas*, *pauai*, and *real* is an undeniable proof of former commercial intercourses between them and the Portuguese traders of Malacca. There is no doubt that, later on, Mr. Collings will find some other Portuguese words still current in this interesting Jakun tribe.

¹¹⁸"I, Antonio Nunes, Comptroller of the House of the King our Lord, serving now as Commissar (*Provedor*) for the Accounts and Finances in India, by special command of the Lord Viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (Sept. 1554 to June 1555), I make known to all who shall read the presents that, by command of his Lordship, I have decided to put in force this *Book of Weights, Measures and Monies* of the kingdoms, towns, for tresses and places of this region (of the East), so that in each of these places it should be in use and the trade of all goods carried on (according to its directions). (These directions) are taken from a very old *Book of Weights* which is kept in this Office (of the Finances at Goa), and also from the accounts of the Captains, Trading agents and Officials of His Majesty coming from this Office, and from informations which were given upon oath about the said weights and monies. They have been entered this Book under their respective heads for every country. In witness whereof I have given this attestation signed by me at Goa, the 15th December. Antonio Gonçalves wrote it in 1554.—Antonio Nunes."—Gabriel Ferrand: *Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des Mers du Sud aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles*. Journal Asiatique &c.; Onzième Série, Tom. XVI. M.DCCCC.XX, (Juillet-Septembre), p. 5.)

¹¹⁹So called by the Malays on account of the Pillars (of Hercules) which accompany, as supporters, the Spanish coat-of-arms on the reverse of the coin.

¹²⁰*The Story of British Coinage* by Gertrude Burford Rawlings.

¹²¹Richard Hackluyt: *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation &c.*, Vol. VI (edit. M.CM.IV), p.19.—Hackluyt only repeats what was said already by Gaspar Bally the Venetian (Cf. *Recueil des Voyages &c.*, (of the Dutch), Tom. III, Second Voyage d'Etienne van der Hagen, p. 12).

MALAY TITLES

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon.).

In 1929 Professor Ph. S. van Ronkel edited from three London texts a small work, entitled '*Adat Raja-Raja Melayu*' (E. J. Brill, Leiden) and containing an account of ancient Malay birth, betrothal, marriage and funeral customs. It was written in Malacca in 1779 A.D. (150 years before it was printed) for De Bruin, the Governor of then Dutch Malacca) by a Malay headman or Captain, Mahbub, with the help of Lebai 'Abdalmohit of Trangkera. Students of magic and custom will find it full of valuable detail. It tells among other things how royal afterbirth was put in a pot, taken in procession to the river-mouth and sunk; how the great chiefs each clipped a lock of a royal infant's hair and put it along with a gold ring into a young coconut; how, when a royal corpse was washed, the slave who sat under the floor and held a cauldron to catch the water was given his liberty. It is also of interest for the lexicographer, containing unusual forms like *gāngam* for *gēnggam* and a few words not in the dictionaries.

In this note I propose to summarize its account of Malay titles, an account clearly based on the old Malacca tradition coloured by later Johor usage. Malay lexicographers both Dutch and English, are generally vague in their definitions of mediaeval Malacca titles, and social classes, being content to look for their meanings in Sanskrit or Javanese dictionaries. Material collected by me in Perak and elsewhere and inserted in my *English-Malay Dictionary* (Singapore 1922) *sub* 'title, prince, prophet' long ago showed me that every Malay title has a very precise meaning, not always the one that it bore in Sanskrit. The matter, therefore, which Dr. van Ronkel has discovered in one of his MSS., namely Farquhar MS. 4 from the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, is particularly interesting not only to lexicographers but to students of historical genealogies. I will summarize the sometimes involved Malay:—

"If a male Raja marry even an Abyssinian, their children are Rajas. If a female Raja marry an inferior, her son will be a Megat (and in Perak still her daughter a Putri R.O.W.). A Megat's sons by any wife are Megats. If a Megat's sister marry beneath her *e.g.* a Mantri, her son is a *Biduanda*. If a *Biduanda's* sister marry a commoner, her son is a *chētēria*. If a *chētēria's* sister marry a commoner, her son is a *pēriai*. If a *pēriai's* sister marry a commoner, her son is a *pērwira*. If a *pērwira's* sister marry a

There seems no reason why, in a Malacca that had one Sultan with a Javanese wife and another with a Javanese mother, Javanese of noble birth should not have been allotted a place in the local degrees of rank. Where the definitions can be checked, they are correct. That of Megat, for example. In Pasai, in old Malacca and Johore, in Kedah and Pahang it bears the meaning given in this text, is as hereditary a title as Raja and cannot, so far as I know, ever be conferred:—I know of no evidence that it can be part of an honorific except for one born a Megat. If today Megats are scarce, it is because marriage between a raja lady and a commoner is exceedingly rare, and when it does occur is considered disgraceful, the parties generally removing to a place where they are unknown. Still nothing can prevent the son of such a marriage claiming to be a Megat. Sometimes as in the case of the second ruler of Malacca, high position has gained him the title of Raja.

Farquhar's MS. continues.

"A Bendahara is styled Paduka Sri Maha Raja because these four words are attributes of royalty. From them come the titles of all the Mantris, whether of the Four, the Eight, the Sixteen or the Thirty-two. One school puts the Bendahara alone and says the Four Mantris are the (Dato') Maharaja, (Dato') Paduka Maharaja, (Dato') Paduka Sri Maharaja 'diraja, (Dato') Paduka Maha Mantri. Another school makes the Four: (1) the Bendahara, (2) Dato' Maharaja (3) Dato' Paduka Maharaja (4) Dato' Paduka Maha Mantri.

"The heir to the Bendahara is a Paduka Raja. Any Mantri having in his title two or three of the original (four) words denoting the attributes of royalty belongs to the Four *e.g.* Paduka Sri Ferdana Mantri, Paduka Maharaja, Paduka Maha Mantri. Any Mantri whose title begins with Sri (*e.g.* Sri Indra-Wangsa, Sri Jaya Pahlawan, Sri Pekerma Raja, Sri Maharaja Lela, Sri Raja 'diraja) belongs to the Eight. Sometimes also any Mantri whose title begins with Paduka *e.g.* Paduka Raja or with Maha *e.g.* Maharaja or with Raja *e.g.* Raja Mahkota. The Sixteen have titles all beginning with Raja: Raja Awadana, Lela, Raja Stia Pahlawan, Raja Dewa Pahlawan, Raja Putra Jaya, Raja Putra Indra, Raja Derma Indra, Raja Stia Lela, Raja Utama Stia. None below the Sixteen rank as Mantris, *e.g.* those bearing the titles Tun, Sang, Hulubalang, Penglima, Penghulu, Ni, Kueng, and Tandil. A Sri Raja Wangsa is higher than a Raja Indra Wangsa; a Sri Pekerma Jaya than a Raja Stia Bijaya, and a Raja Stia Bijaya than a Tun Indra Dewa; and a Tun Indra Dewa than a Sang Derma Indra. Any chief can confer the titles Penglima, Penghulu, Kweng and Tandil."

One may compare the "Malay Annals" (Shellabear's Romanized text 2nd ed. 1909 p. 65) where it describes how candidates for honours are taken before the Sultan:—*jikalau përsërian*,

1940] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

orang bĕsar-bĕsar mĕnjĕmpuť dia ; jika pĕrsangan orang kĕchil mĕnjĕmpuť dia ; jika pĕtunan, orang sĕdang mĕnjĕmpuť dia. Or one may check this 18th century "Almanac de Mĕlaka" with the genealogies in the "Malay Annals."

It is interesting to find the Four, the Eight, the Sixteen and the Thirty-two, classes not mentioned in the "Malay Annals" but still extant in Perak. A comparison of the old Malacca titles with those of the Perak chiefs, as given in my history of that state, shows that, though Perak has undergone Chinese and Bugis influence, it still exhibits many traces of old Malacca usage.

A PASAI CHIEF WITH A PERSIAN MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon.)

In the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* (Deel LXXVIII, Af. 2, 1938) of the Royal Batavian Society Dr. H. K. J. Cowan wrote an interesting paper on Pasai coins and Pasai history. He has followed this up (*ib.* Deel LXXX, Af. 1, 1940) by another paper in English on "A Persian inscription in North Sumatra". Near a district, where there is still a village called Samudra, has been found the tomb of a Naina Husam al-Din, son of Naina Amin, who died in the month Shawwal 823 A.H. (=Oct./Nov. 1420 A.D.). It bears, what is unique in Malaysia, an inscription, containing verses in Persian, apparently from the *Tayyibat* of the famous Persian poet, Shaikh Muslih al-Din Sa'di (A.D. 1193-1292).

Husam al-Din appears to have been a favorite name in Pasai. Sultan Malik al-Saleh (d. 1297) had according to the "Chronicles of Pasai" two ministers, Tun Sri Kaya called Saidi 'Ali Ghiath al-Din and Tun Baba Kaya called 'Semaya' al-Din. The old Raffles' text of the "Malay Annals" corrects the latter to Asmayu'd-din, but the Shellabear text reads "Husam al-Din".

DID PASAI RULE KEDAH IN THE XIVth CENTURY ?

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon.)

In *Acta Orientalia* vol. XIV, 1936 (Leiden), Dr. Stutterheim has deciphered a Malay *sha'ir* of 1380 A.D. from an old Sumatran grave-stone found between the Pasai and Jambi rivers. The deceased, if Dr. Stutterheim's reading of the old Malayo-Indian script is correct, was a Muslim princess of a family that ruled Kedah and Pasai. This is startling but there is historical support. (1) If Pasai ruled this former province of Sri Vijaya, this would be a new reason why the Parameswara or founder of Malacca (who according to many accounts was a prince of Palembang *i.e.* Sri Vijaya) should have sought a Pasai princess as bride for his heir. (2) The marriage (and perhaps the Parameswara's own descent) would serve as a basis for what Chinese annalists call Malacca's false claim in 1406 to Palembang as against Majapahit. (3) In 1424 the son of that marriage when he became third ruler of Malacca assumed the old Sri Vijaya style of Sri Maharaja and introduced some ancient system of court ceremonial. (4) The Muslim title of Sultan Megat, who married the Pasai princess, was Iskandar Shah, obviously came with Islam from Pasai and there had been associated with Alexandra folklore from Palembang's sacred hill Si-Guntang. (5) There is a Megat Kedah in the "Chronicles of Pasai." (6) In the 14th century Islam had become established only in and round Pasai, and the 14th century Trengganu stone in Malayo-Arabic script (J.R.A.S.M.B. vol II) shows that Pasai's influence, like that of Sri Vijaya, stretched right across the Peninsula.

VALENTIJN'S COPY OF THE SĚJARAH MĚLAYU

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon.)

A comparison of the names, ages and reigns of the rulers of Singapore and Malacca in the ordinary Johore (*e.g.* Shellabear's) text of the "Malay Annals", in the older Malacca text (edited by me from a Raffles MS. in Journal XVI, Part III), and in Valentijn's description of Malacca translated in Journal XVIII shows clearly that Valentijn (1666-1727) used the older or Malacca text. He refers to the *SĚjarah MĚlayu* as one of his sources under its Arabic title of *Sulalatu's Salatina*, though he confuses it with the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*.

The Johore text of the "Malay Annals" gives neither the ages nor the length of the reigns of the rulers of Singapore; Valentijn, like Raffles MS. of the "Malay Annals", makes Sri Tribuana reign 48 years, Pikrama Wira 15 years, Rana Wikrama 13 years and Sri Maharaja 12½ years.

Valentijn, like Raffles MS. makes Sultan Megat the second ruler of Malacca and gives two years as the length of his reign and omits mention of Raja Besar Muda and Raja Tengah, whom the Johore version gives as second and third rulers. Valentijn records the same length of reign for Sultans Muhammad (57 years) and Muzaffar (40 years) as occurs in Raffles MS., whereas the Johore recension gives neither the age nor reign of the former and makes Muzaffar reign 42 years. Valentijn and Raffles MS. make Sultan Mansur die at the age of 73, whereas the Johore recension gives no age. The Johore recension gives neither the age nor reign of Sultan Alaedin, while the Raffles MS. says he reigned 33 years and Valentijn 30 :—the omission of the last *tiga* in *tiga-puloh tiga* would be a common error in any MS. and may well have occurred in Valentijn's MS.

Valentijn had not got the complete MS. or perhaps it is more likely that he did not wade through it. For he is unaware that Mahmud, last Sultan of Malacca, had his son Ahmad killed, and so he queries the perfectly correct Portuguese statement that Mahmud was succeeded by his son Alaedin.

If only Valentijn's copy of the "Malay Annals" had not been lost, we should have part at least of another text of the oldest version of the "Malay Annals."

It may be added that the name of the second ruler of Malacca, called Mu-kan-sa-u-ti-r-sha by the Chinese and Mu-Xaquendarsa by Portuguese, will be Megat Iskandar Shah and not, as used to be thought, such an extraordinary hybrid as Muhammad Iskandar. Chinese and Portuguese authorities do not give him the title of Sultan.

KULANGGI OR GULANGGI

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon)

In the *Kedah Annals* there is reference to a Raja variously romanized as Galungi, Kalungi and Kelinggi. In the Malayo-Arabic spelling the only vowel always written is the final—*i*. In Journal XV Part III (Dec. 1937) however Mr. Roland Braddell elects to correct the Malay spelling, identifies the word with Kalinga and the place with Burma, as "it was a Kalinga or Telinga country." There is, however, no need to correct the Malay spelling or to apply such an extraordinary geographical description to Burma. The "*Kedah Annals*" were written up by an author saturated in the romance of the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*. From that work he has purloined the name Zamin Turan, literally "land of Turkestan" for Kedah itself. And Raja Gulanggi alias Kulanggi is a character out of the same romance (De Roman van Amir Hamza, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, p. 233, Leiden 1895); the word being variously spelt in different MSS. of the fifteenth century Malay translation.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE MOUNT MERU AND CHULA LEGENDS

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D. LITT. (Oxon.)

The "Malay Annals" and Sumatran folk-lore (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. IV, p. 415) connect Si-Guntang *Mahameru* with the Alexander legend. In "The Cambridge History of India", Vol. I, p. 354 (1922) Mr. E. R. Bevan gives the explanation. Arrian tells us that on his raid into India Alexander the Great heard of a place Nysa, whose people claimed to be descendants of Western worshippers of Dionysus, who, the Greeks believed, had gone conquering across Asia at the head of his revellers. Greek legend makes Nysa the name of Dionysus' nurse or the name of his birth-place. "Again the legend said that Dionysus had been born from the thigh (*mēros*) of Zeus, and a neighbouring summit, the Greeks discovered, was called Meru. What could be clearer? Hostilities with these interesting kinsmen could not be thought of, and the Nysaeans joined the army of the Yavana (=Ionian) king and followed him to battle in the plains of the Punjab." Hinduism gave the name of Meru to many mountains, just as the Olympian gods, wherever their worshippers moved, tended to dwell on the highest mountain in the neighbourhood, and the mountain thereby became Olympus. In Hindu mythology Mahameru is the pivot of the universe, the abode of Vishnu and Indra.

In the Malay legend a descendant of Alexander marries a daughter of Demang Lebar Daun — a name generally unchallenged but apparently corrupt, because Indonesian syntax would require Daun Lebar.

Demang Lebar Daun's son-in-law had among his ancestors Raja Suran and Raja Chulan, generally taken to be folk-lore reminiscences of the Chula raids of the XIth century. Variants of the word Chula constantly crop up in Malay folk-lore. The "Chronicles of Pasai" make the founder of that little state a Merah Silu. In the same "Cambridge History" (p. 610) Dr. L. D. Barnett has a note on the name of a prince who ruled Ceylon from 17 B.C. :—"this name appears in Pali as *Mahachuli*, *chulika* and *chula*; in Sinhalese as *Mahasilu* (implying a Pali *chuli*)."

CORRIGENDA.

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Vol. XVI, Part III, December, 1938.

THE MALAY ANNALS.

Preface, line 21. For "three examples (fols. 42, 64) of an interrogative *mai* and two examples (fol. 99) of a word *taban*" read "five examples (fols. 42, 64) of a word *maya* and four (fol. 99) of a word *taban*."

Page 1, line 8. Delete "Platneus."

„ 14, line 19. For "*rèzèki*" read "*rězěki*."

„ 18, ch. I. line 6. Omit "to the Bendahara."

„ 29, line 9. Omit "Tamilised."

„ 32, § 8. For "two obsolete interrogative particles" etc. read "an obsolete interrogative *kutaha* (found also in the *Hikayat Pasai*) and a new word *maya*."

„ 32, line 37. For 1913 read 1613.

„ 39, line 34. For "Sri Akar a Patani Raja" read "Sěri Agar Raja, of Patani."

„ 42, lines 11, 12. Read *fa'innahu sharf al-makani w'al zamani*.

„ 42, line 14. For *nur mad raja* read *nawwara madajat*.

„ 46, line 28. For *Aftus* read *Aftas passim*.

„ 48, line 7. For *marji* ' and *ma'ab* read *marja* ' and *ma'ab passim*.

„ 55, line 33. For *nisab* read *nasab*.

„ 58, line 27. For *dari pėti darmani* read درفتي درماني

„ 58, line 29. For *bėrdaimani* read بردماي

„ 64, line 9. ? = simpankan *kėrana pėrkataan bėrlambat*.

„ 76, line 30. For (? = *nimmat-nya*) read (*gimat-nya*, 'its price').

„ 79, line 10. For *buat* read *buah*.

„ 80, line 8. Insert (? = *di-tilek*).

„ 81, line 28. For دوکە read *dua kėti*.

„ 86, line 29. For *halkah* read *pėlēpah*.

„ 101, lines 1, 2. For *mautu* read *mauta*; for *ajalu* read *ajali*.

„ 126, line 20. For *bėrami* read *bėrani*.

„ 137, line 26. Read *Man tawakkala 'ala Allahi kafi*'.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XVIII, Part II,

- Page 143, line 17. *For* padua *read* paduka.
 „ 159, lines 37, 37. *For* karas ? *read* kēris.
 „ 177, line 16. *For* khitab *read* kitab.
 „ 181, line 46. *For* mēngērumusi *read* mēngērumuni.
 „ 185, line 8. *After* جار insert (? = chara).
 „ 189, line 45. *For* kēmēndalan *read* kēmēndelam.
 „ 191, line 3. *For* wardi *read* ordi.
 „ 225, bottom *Insert*

hati.” Maka Bēndahara bērkata pula pada Sang Sētia, “ Lagi-lagi-nya jangan dēmikian, karna lain-kah Sultan Pahang dan Sultan Perak dēngan Yang-di-pērtuan ? Sakalian-nya itu tuan pada kita, tētapi pada kētika-nya baik : jikalau pada jahat-nya, hingga Yang-di-pērtuan juga sa-orang tuan kita.” Sa-tēlah itu, maka kata Bēndahara Paduka Tuan pada Sultan Muzaffar Shah—“ Patek hēndak pulang. Apa sēmbah tuanku pada paduka adin, da ? ” Maka kata Sultan Muzaffar Shah, “ Katakan patek ēmpunya sēmbah mēnjunjong anugērah ; tētapi jikalau ada di-kurniakan, sēgala sakai Pateh Ludang itu hēndak di-pohonkan ka-bawah duli.” Maka Bēndahara pun mohon-lah pada Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

(203) Sa-tēlah datang ka-pada Sultan ‘Ala’u’d-din Riayat Shah, maka sēgala sēmbah Sultan Muzaffar Shah itu sēmua-nya di-pērsēmbahkan-nya ka-bawah duli Sultan ‘Ala’u’d-din Riayat Shah. Maka titah Sultan ‘Ala’u’d-din Riayat Shah, “ Baik-lah, sakai itu kita anugērahkan-lah pada abang.” Maka sa-tēlah bērapa lama-nya Sultan Muzaffar Shah di-Sayong, maka baginda mohon-lah ka-pada Sultan ‘Ala’u’d-din Riayat Shah, maka di-bēri baginda pērsalin sapērti-nya, maka Sultan Muzaffar Shah pun kēmbali-lah ka-Pahang. Sa-tēlah bērapa lama-nya sampai-lah ka-Pahang.

Wa-llahu a’lamu di-s-sawab wa ilaihi-l-marja ‘u wa-l-ma’ab.
 Wa katibu-hu Raja Bongsu.

Note—I have to thank Professor Dr. Ph. van Ronkel for many of these corrections.—*R. O. Winstedt.*